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# WEEKLY PEOPLE.

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## TRUSTIFICATION.

THREE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS  
IN 1899 AND 1900.

And Figures That Nail Certain Lies  
of the Journal of Commerce, Intended  
for Broadcast Circulation by the Capitalist Press Among the Stupid Middle Class.

There was a time when the private line of high standing in manufacture and commerce, with their retinue of jobs and brokers, constituted a class whose opinion had great weight in public affairs. The New York "Journal of Commerce" was "honestly" then voicing their interests and faithfully reflecting their views. It consequently warred against "railroad monopoly," looked with suspicion on great corporate schemes and solemnly denounced the trustification movement. But with the growth of corporations this class gradually declined in prestige, and it finally lost all its influence when the "trust," by absorbing its wealthiest members and casting the others far back into the shade, became the commanding power. At every step of capitalism in its fated journey, the position of the "Journal of Commerce" became therefore more difficult. In fact, there never was but once in American journalism, a case more embarrassing, and that was when the "Volkszeitung," deeming itself threatened in its existence by the very growth of that revolutionary Socialism which it had been instituted to promote, undertook the impossible task of carrying, on its shoulders, five buckets of water, respectively labeled "Socialism," "Anarchism," "Trade-Unionism," "Pure and Simple," "Middle Class Taxation" and "Beer."

But the editor of the "Journal of Commerce" is not a fool. He soon learned how to straddle on barbed wire fences, and to do the tight-rope dancing act better than the Democratic party; for while that party lost its balance and fell to the bottom of the barrel box in attempting to carry Bryan anti-trust whiskey in silver buckets on its South-west shoulder, and Belmont-Crocker trust water in a gold bucket on its North-east shoulder, the "Journal of Commerce," by carrying both in a tin can on its one and only head, preserves its middle class subscribers and keeps a crop of plutocratic advertisements.

In its "fin-de-siècle" number we are treated to show of statistical legerdemain. It is there proven in mammoth type and by actual figures, that "the consolidation craze is declining," that "new competition is increasing," and that "except in special instances the threat of industrial monopoly is being rapidly removed." As it is likely that this "good news," or stupendous "fake," will be daily heralded for a number of months by the capitalist press throughout the country, we may take the trouble of looking into it a little more closely.

In the first place we are told that "during the year 1900 the aggregate capitalizations of new consolidations was about \$945,000,000, as against over \$2,500,000,000 in 1899; and this is undoubtedly represented as a 'decline.' To be sure it requires no great amount of reflection or acumen to discover the absurdity of such a conclusion; but among busy people and persons of untrained mind the interpretation of a fact and the consequent depression it leaves upon the memory largely depend upon the form in which it is stated. If the form be wrong, the resulting impression is false, and in most cases it may be lasting. Observe, then, that we have here a cunning substitution of the comparative for the positive form, which would be as follows: 'THE ENORMOUS CONSOLIDATIONS OF RECENT YEARS, TO WHICH THE YEAR 1899 ALONE CONTRIBUTED A CAPITALIZATION OF \$2,500,000,000, WERE FURTHER INCREASED IN 1900 BY A CAPITALIZATION OF \$945,000,000.' Does this show a decline? Again, observe that this last figure is in itself sufficiently considerable to dispose of the false impression, plainly intended to be conveyed by the "Journal of Commerce," that there is in capitalist circles a reaction against the policy of trustification; but it is safe to add that it would have been still larger if the industrial capitalizations of previous years had not been as great as to now leave but little room, comparatively, for further progress in the same direction. Of course it were a little remark, that when all the industries shall have been trustified there will not be any more trustification of industry. Neither Munchausen nor even the "Journal of Commerce" would deny that. Now the fact is that in manufacture alone the trustification is close upon EIGHT BILLION DOLLARS, and that the products of the remaining "independent" establishments are for the most part of a sort and of a value that cannot yet attract the trustifier.

In the second place we are presented with a list of small corporations, formed in 1900 in a few of the industrial fields (mostly iron and steel) already occupied by powerful trusts. And this fact is presented to us as a revival of com-

petition; nay, as conclusive evidence that "except in special instances the threat of industrial monopoly is being rapidly removed." We have taken the trouble of adding together the capitals of those so-called competitors and found that they foot up the insignificant total of about sixty millions as against a grand total of sixteen hundred millions for the trusts in the corresponding branches of industry. Observe, furthermore, that most of them have a capital of only one million or less, probably not fully paid; that if they are "independent" they must compete not only against the trusts, but against each other; and that unless they have some special advantage—a valuable patent, for instance, or a superior location, in which case they will quickly be bought out by the trust—they are obviously bound to fail.

Lastly we are told that although the great trusts in kindred branches have each a well-defined field of operation, there are certain points of contact at which their interests begin to clash; and a few examples are given of the mutual encroachments and consequent competition between some of them. But what of it? The Socialists foresaw long ago that such would inevitably be the case until the trustification process had reached its ultimate end. Of course, we never imagined for a moment that this ultimate end could be as the "Journal of Commerce" effects to believe—the restoration of competition. On the contrary we predicted with the utmost confidence that the inevitable result of war between trusts would be a more extensive trustification. It falls indeed under the sense that the dozen great financial interests, for instance, that have apportioned among themselves the different branches of the iron and steel industry, must some day amalgamate, and that it will be far easier to consolidate twelve such gigantic concerns into one national body, than it was to fuse several thousand distinct industrial establishments into twelve financial units. We went even further, and predicted with not less confidence that—barring out the Social Revolution—the day would of necessity come when the great capitalists jointly owning the various trusts would amalgamate them all financially into a "Trust of Trusts"—a King Trust—regardless of the wide technical differences between the industries or services brought under their sway, and respectively carried on by competent stipendiaries. This is, in fact, the work upon which such mighty trustifiers as Pierpont Morgan and Rockefeller are already engaged.

In the meantime the "Journal of Commerce" is manufacturing knock-out drops to be retailed under its widely known trade mark and administered to the middle class by great and small capitalist organs in doses to suit the temperament of their respective localities. But the extent of its own belief in the revival and beneficence of competition is shown in the following extract from its editorial comments upon the message of the Governor of New York: "The incorporation laws should be drawn with a view to facilitating rather than obstructing all useful consolidations of capital."

Let us note, in conclusion, the trustification movement of England. We lately observed that in this respect Great Britain was far in the rear of the United States, but that under the pressure of American inroads she was awakening to the necessity of concentrating her own means in order to successfully oppose the enormous masses of capital which the American trusts can now use as trip hammers to flatten out their foreign rivals. Her present financial situation, however, is not favorable to the progress of a movement of this sort on the scale and with the speed obviously required. No doubt the purely industrial and commercial portion of British capitalism realizes the need of prompt and vigorous action; but it can do nothing of importance without the aid of that other portion which consists of "investors"; and it looks as if these patriots had more confidence in American stocks than in their own industries. The largest consolidations so far reported have taken place in the textile and iron branches; but none of them can compare in size with the American trusts. The prospect is, therefore, that for some time at least our trusts will have their own way abroad and "our unexampled prosperity" will still be heralded by all the capitalistic trumpets. But this cannot be of very long duration. The result must soon be a lack of work in foreign lands, a decrease of purchasing power on foreign markets, a consequent decrease of our exports, and a world-wide crisis. We shall see.

The "Coming Nation" rises up to heave a brick at the retreating figure of Eugene V. Debs. Not that the "Coming Nation" has a right to throw bricks at Debs because he is a "traitor." It happens, even, that it did not support him for President. It threw its mouth in favor of Bryan, but that does not prevent it from being most horribly "socialist," and of "repudiating" Debs, his acts, and his wiles. Now since the "Coming Nation" was the official organ of the Russian free-love association, it has had most serious trouble. Not the least of them has been to find a market for itself. The Socialist Labor Party long ago threw it aside as vile and worthless, and the S. D. P. had not the money to buy it. The Bryanites have no use for it, and it is seeking shelter. Its attack on Debs shows that it has no hope from his party, so it gets down and tries to crawl into the ranks of the Kangaroos. It is in worthy company, and will no doubt be able, some time, to return to its old Russian ways, and the little signs that gave it life.

## THE FRATERNALIST

CURRAN WOULD NOT ATTACK WRONG  
DOERS—FAKIRS MAY BE INNO-  
CENT OF INTENT.

Believes the English Methods Productive  
of Good—Would Not Fight Individuals  
But the System—Scenes and Incidents  
of the Meeting.

On Friday evening, January 4, a DAILY PEOPLE reporter interviewed Peter Curran, the English fraternal delegate to the A. F. of L. convention, at Arlington Hall where Curran was to speak.

Mr. Curran was discovered surrounded by a half dozen sorry looking Kungs. He is a bullet-headed gentleman with the shifty deceitful eye of the typical labor fakir and possesses the physique of the bon vivant. The first question fired at Mr. Curran was:

"Do you believe it is possible to build a political movement in England on the present form of trades union organization existing there?"

"Yes. We are doing it now. We have elected two members to Parliament at the last election."

"Is it not fact that these fellows (and Burns and Hardie) are not Socialists and that they were not elected by trades unionists?"

Mr. Curran thought that they were Socialists and that the unions helped to elect them.

"What do you think of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance?" was next asked.

"I don't believe in it. I do not believe in attacking men and calling them labor fakers and political scabs as you S. L. P. men do."

"Do you believe in attacking scoundrels who plant the working class in front of the guns and policemen's clubs?"

"I don't know of any trade unionist that does that."

"Is it possible that you don't know that a labor leader who runs on a capitalist ticket places the capitalists in possession of the club of political power, so that he can stave in the heads of the workmen?"

Mr. Curran woke up then and admitted that it was so.

"Well, if you now admit this is so, why don't you lash with whips of fire the traitors to the working class in the British House of Commons?"

"I don't know of any traitors to the working class in Parliament," said Mr. Curran.

"What about Burns, Pickards, Holmes, Burns and the rest of that crowd; would you attack them?"

"I would not attack John Burns because he is a friend of mine, and I admire him very much. As to Pickard, I run against him in his constituency. As to Burns and the others, I could not attack them because they may be innocent men who do not know what they are doing."

"In other words, if a fellow sells out to the capitalist class, has the workers slaughtered, stands, in fact, with his hands red with the blood of the working class, you refuse to attack him on the ridiculous plea that they don't know better? If they don't know any better, why not expose their ignorance and kick them out at once?"

Mr. Curran thought it was better to educate than to fight them.

"Acting on that principle then you would not fight Mark Hanna if you thought he was acting innocently when he orders the miners shot? You would not fight the gang that builds Bull Pens for our class?"

"No," said Curran with a smug smile. "We believe in fighting the system, not the individual."

Mr. Curran was then informed by the DAILY PEOPLE reporter that such a cowardly and traitorous attitude might go in England but that in America we don't shield fakers with abstract ideas of right and wrong.

That in the class struggle between the workers and their exploiters there can be no mercy shown to the betrayers of the proletariat.

The reporter then asked Mr. Curran if the English trades unions would permit a capitalist to become cashier of the union.

## VOLKSZEITUNG SQUEALS AGAIN.

The Sheriff in Charge in the Office For Costs.

If anyone has business with the Sheriff, he will have to call at the "Volkszeitung" office, 184 William street. The Sheriff has been there in charge for the last couple of days, and will continue in charge for a couple of days more.

This is one of the direct results of the conduct of the Board of Directors of the Corporation in bringing a fraudulent action against Party members, so as to secure possession of the Party's English press. Readers of the DAILY PEOPLE have been made acquainted with the various stages of this performance; each resulted more disastrously than the previously one to the Corporation, until now the Sheriff is there, lodged.

This last event happened when the Corporation tried to dodge payment of about \$300 costs, due on the appeal which it recently lost in the Court of Appeals. The matter was placed in the Sheriff's hands, and he is there now. The Corporation, then suddenly pretended that it wanted to appeal, and got a stay of a few days, snatching at straws. The only result being that it will have to pay considerably more before the Sheriff will vacate the "Volkszeitung" office—all of which comes from trying Timboctoo tricks outside of Timboctoo.

In view of this, the "Volkszeitung" issued yesterday a hurry call to a certain organization—"The Volkszeitung Conference"—which it uses for the purpose of squeezing moneys out of poor and uninformed German workmen so as to have funds to pay its high-salaried collection of nincompoop "editors" and other officials. The "Conference" is to be frightened into giving money to defray the expenses of the blundering Board of Directors.

But this is not the only misfortune that has befallen that prostituted sheet of the Organized Scabbery last week. Readers of the DAILY PEOPLE know that some time ago several of the stockholders of the Corporation applied to the Attorney General to revoke the charter of the Corporation. The grounds for the application were, besides the alleged bankrupt condition of the Corporation, the fact that the "Volkszeitung" belonged to Section New York, S. L. P., and that the Corporation was destroying the property. As stated at the time, this was but a preliminary and formal step necessary, before the loyal stockholders could proceed in regular form to demand that the concern be placed in the receiver's hands, its affairs wound up and the property distributed. The Attorney General, as was to be expected, declined himself to put a quietus on the Corporation, but in his decision he points out that the loyal stockholders can proceed before the courts and there obtain all that they can ask. This decision, accordingly, is tantamount to the starting of proceedings, in the very courts before which the Corporation dragged the Party, for the final dissolution of the Volkszeitung Corporation, a nest of the most poisonous reptiles and intellectual noodles that have yet been gathered together to do the unsuspecting German workmen and play a corrupt role in the American Labor Movement.

Massachusetts. That where formerly a man would be discharged for belonging to a union now he is discharged if he does not.

All this was news to Mr. Curran, who will evidently go back to England as stupid as when he came.

The interview terminated at this point. Mr. Curran went on the platform.

Mr. Curran spoke for over an hour, and during that time he strenuously endeavored to say something. He failed to do anything but trot out the usual trite vapors. He wandered from England to America; from New York to Chicago; and from St. Louis back to dear old Lunnion. In all these wanderings, he forgot to tell the why or the wherefore of his itinerary, or what he saw or why he saw it. This also was probably a beautiful illustration of solidarity.

Mr. Curran commenced by saying that he represented two million workmen, and the two million workmen were decorously applauded. From that on the audience was like the sleeping beauty. They woke from their somnolence only to leave the hall or to look dully around. The speaker dropped on, his little, squeezed, fat voice making large incisions in the atmosphere.

The gist of his remarks was that conditions here were the same as in England. There they had a large trades union movement that would effect wonders. They also have a Socialist movement that is going to effect wonders, and which will eventually make itself felt. That it has not yet done so is not the result of its policy but merely the result of circumstances. When he was sent as fraternal delegate he told those who elected him that he would go as a Socialist or not at all, and he went. There were in the hall, confronting him, men who had fought with him the fight of Socialism twenty years ago.

When he commenced the audience was steadily filing out. When he finished most of the audience was gone. Then the few who were left gave three rousing cheers for international solidarity, as represented by the 183 persons who assembled in the largest city in America, under the auspices of the Social Democratic party, to greet a man who represented two million men, and who came here to attend the convention which represented one million men. It was really a glorious event, but who would have thought it could have been so well attended?

## WORKERS' BETTERMENT.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, ORIGINATES THE  
LATEST CAPITALIST BUNCO GAME.

Beautifying the Slave Pens—Cheapening Labor By the Introduction of Baths, Libraries and Dinners—Suggestion Boxes That Yields Thousands to the Capitalists and Nothing to the Laborers.

CLEVELAND, O., Jan. 6.—Just at present the outside world is being regaled with beautiful tales about the improved conditions of factory life in this city. To such an extent have our manufacturers here exploited this so-called betterment, that I deem it wise to make known to DAILY PEOPLE readers, just what this latest capitalistic philanthropic scheme is.

Last October the Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee of "prominent" business men to investigate and report on plans for the industrial benefit of the city, i. e., the manufacturers. This committee, after examining reports and plans of work in other cities, recommended that employers of labor should devise plans for the betterment of the conditions surrounding the work-a-day life of their employees.

In other words, in order to boom the business of the town the manufacturers were advised to exploit the sentiment of "justice to the workers" by adopting certain methods, which, while costing nothing, would, they were told, pay handsomely. To such an extent has this scheme grown that we now have an Industrial Committee, the chairman of which acts as adviser on "social betterment" to those firms desiring its assistance.

We have thirty or forty factories and stores that are working this "improvement of workers' conditions" method of advertising.

For it is upon the advertising features of the scheme that its chief value depends, but more of this further on. These concerns, be it remarked, in no instance thought of bettering their employees by increasing their wages. Nay, nay, the experiments at "co-operation" are for the purpose of increasing the profits, not for the purpose of allowing the workers to share them, be it ever so little.

But to proceed. The social betterment of the workers plan proceeds upon the principle that all that is needed to be done is to make the conditions surrounding the daily work life of the employee more beautiful and comfortable.

The Cleveland Hardware Company is one of these "mutual interest" concerns. They provide a lunch-room, kitchen, etc., and serve their 350 employees at "cost." While the prices are low and the food fairly good, the fact remains that according to the Company's own acknowledgement the affair does not cost them anything.

Another "feature" at this factory is the library, but it has developed that it never cost the company a penny, having been established as a branch of the city library by the city. In this connection it is interesting to note a scheme that this concern worked very neatly. They wrote to prominent men and women all over the country asking them to donate to a private factory library one book each with signature of the donor on the fly-leaf. They got three hundred volumes through this game.

Everyone of the improvements adopted by the company redound first to the benefit of the company and may in some cases incidentally benefit the men. In the rolling-mill, for instance, prostrations frequently occurred. A change was made in the time-schedule. For two shifts of 12 hours were substituted three of 8 hours each. The result was, to the men, better health and fewer prostrations; to the company, greater output without added expense. By means of airshafts over the furnaces all prostrations were finally avoided, and the old time-schedule again went into effect.

And yet in spite of all these heavenly conditions the men are not satisfied. Some philanthropists are horrified to hear that some of the men regard the restaurant as a money making scheme. And last year there was a strike of the machinists. The company, when asked about it, said that the men were reluctant to go out, but had to obey the union's order.

At the Sherwin Williams Paint Company factory they furnish the noon meal at cost, 6 to 8 cents is the average expenditure of the employees, the whole bill costs but 17 cents—wages are corresponding lower here. Work in a paint mill is attended with great danger from lead-poisoning. At one time 20 per cent of the men were continually ill, and the average time of service in that department was a month and a half. This entailed economic expense to the Company. They solved the problem by providing clean clothes daily for the men by putting in baths and making their use compulsory.

The company was surprised at the benefit it derived from these measures. Sickness and poisoning are a thing of the past.

Another scheme is worked in the factory of the Cleveland Window Glass Company. A discussion takes place once a week upon some topic of business interest. Written questions are handed in advance to the employees. The answers enable the company to judge of the efficiency of its working force. They indicate also the possibility of educating men from the ranks to positions as foremen and salesmen, thus obviating the

necessity of relying upon outside assistance. Here is one of the fairy tales they tell about this plan: Two years ago a young man was taken into the employ of the company at a salary of \$12 per month. Soon the company needed a salesman. Largely through information obtained in these discussions he was enabled in a short time to fill the position of salesman at a salary of \$23 per week instead of \$12 a month.

Occasionally the employees found difficulty in knowing where to go for information upon topics proposed for discussion. This was especially the case with the boys. The company suggested attendance on night schools. Last year twenty boys attended them.

The Cleveland Twist Drill Company is another concern that has joined the ranks of the improvers. They have the dining-room, smoking-room and reading-room features.

One feature of special interest in the factory is the system of paying for suggestions tending to improvements in production, etc.

One of the first suggestions was adopted. The drills made by the company are straightened before they are sent out. A drill is laid on a block of metal whose upper surface is smooth and highly polished. By looking toward a strong light and rolling the drill back and forth, the inaccuracies, if any exist, are discovered. This work requires great accuracy and close application, and it is hard upon the eyes. Formerly the work was done in a large room which had a number of windows. An employee suggested that the difficulties might be overcome by partitioning the room, painting everything green and having green shades. They tried his plan, found it worked, paid him \$50 and in return they found that with half the original room they increased the work of that department 15 per cent, and are thereby reaping thousands of dollars additional profit. The company, finding that their "philanthropic" scheme had worked so well, looked around for other departments to experiment upon.

They found that the employees at work in the tempering room had to work in front of red-hot furnaces ten hours a day.

The company introduced shower-baths, compelled the men to use them during the day to the extent of a total of thirty minutes. The result was that the men did more and better work in 9½ hours than they had done before in ten hours.

But they still are employed ten hours—one-half hour at bathing for the benefit of the company, and they have not had an increase in wages. This company has looked out for the "betterment" of its workers to such an extent that the output of the company has been increased one quarter without one cent increase in wages. But in case anyone should doubt this I bring the best testimony that I know of to bear me out. On August 21 last the company, to forestall any contradiction of the rosy picture it sent out broadcast, had the pure and simpler in its service address the following to the company:

"We, the undersigned, in the employ of the Cleveland Twist Drill Company, grateful for the many comforts and conveniences so thoroughly and conveniently furnished by this firm, take this method of expressing our thanks for them, together with a sincere wish for the continued prosperity of the company."

Formerly in cases of accident or sickness the men looked to the company for assistance, and it was given. But the plan proved unsatisfactory. It caused dissatisfaction. The companies claimed that some of the men pretended illness and shirked their work. One company then proposed a Benefit Society. The idea was, of course, promptly adopted, and such a society was organized. The company contributed \$100 to start the fund and donated the services of a clerk to keep the society's books. The company employs no one who is unwilling to join the society.

The benefits to the company are these: it is relieved of all responsibility for sickness or disability; it is not accused of unfairness or injustice in distributing benefits; and the men in accepting the society's benefits, for which they themselves pay, do not consider themselves objects of charity.

But aside from the cheapening in production, the value in advertising that arises from the "betterment of the working life of their employees" is incalculable. The printed matter sent by these concerns lauding themselves is something enormous.

And aside from the fact that the "betterment of the worker" cheapens prices, the beautiful pictures which illustrate their literature are calculated to catch the sentimentalist, and induce him to buy from such a fair source.

Here, for instance, you see two girls idly looking out of the factory window upon scenes that rival our faded Euclid avenue in beauty. Then, again, you will see them wandering care free in the factory flower-garden, gathering nose-gays as they loiter.

Again, we have them in the "rest-room," where, amid beautiful hangings, surrounded by tropical plants, we see them reclining at their ease reading the latest novel. Pictures of the dining rooms depict a fairy scene which words cannot express.

The smoking room for men shows a piano as one of its features. Another picture shows a factory billiard and card room.

One peculiarity of the pictures is that in none of them do you see more than two or three persons enjoying the advantages. The dining rooms are empty, and the other pictures have just enough life to give them interest.

One workman employed in the ma-

## COLUMBIA "SOCIALISTS."

SCHEME TO RUN STUDENTS ALTRUISM INTO THE GROUND.

The Rev. Alphabet Bliss Organized the Club—Pure and Simple Trades Unionists as Lecturers—Coaching Students to Steer the Future Ship of State.

The Reverend W. P. D. A. Bliss has perpetrated another "Socialist" club. The roped in innocents this time are students in Columbia College.

A DAILY PEOPLE reporter visited Columbia yesterday and interviewed the president of the Socialist (?) Club, Mr. Arthur Caldwell; he said: Yes, we have organized a club for the purpose of studying Socialism. The Reverend Mr. Bliss started it. We are not a propagandistic body; our organization is purely informational in its character. We are going to have lectures from time to time. The lecturers will be union men belonging to the Cigar-makers, Tailors, Bakers, and other trades unions. We expect that we can become posted on the question of Socialism by attending these lectures and the class on Socialism in this college.

Do you mean to say you have a class on Socialism in Columbia?

Oh, yes. We have a class every Tuesday and Thursday. Professor Clark is our teacher.

Does Prof. Clark accept the materialistic conception of history?

I don't know. (In a manner that suggested Mr. Caldwell did not know but that the M. C. of H. was something good to eat.)

Does he teach the Marxian theory of value?

I don't think so.

Does he recognize the class struggle.

Really, I cannot say; you see Professor Clark is non-committal. All he does is to take the writings of the communist and socialist leaders for the past 100 years and lay them before us. He does not endorse their views, merely explains them. For instance, he tells us what the plans and schemes of the new society are.

Does he tell you of the plans of the modern Socialist leaders?

Oh, yes (confidently). Mention one.

Well, he has not developed it yet.

Is this class attended by members of the faculty?

No, and no student need join unless he desires. The class is an elective one. What did Mr. Bliss say when he organized you?

He pointed out that one of the worst features of modern society lies in the fact that our leading men of to-day know nothing of sociology. He also said that we would have a great crisis in modern society in about three decades. We young men will be the people who will handle affairs then, and consequently it is our duty to inform ourselves now so that we may be able to steer the ship of State through the troubled waters at that time.

All this was said with the sublime earnestness of innocent youth.

Asked if he knew of the Socialist Labor Party he said no. He was not acquainted with the DAILY PEOPLE either but promised to read it and thus increase his store of Socialist knowledge. The information was also tendered that the college paper—"The Spectator"—would have Socialist news and notices from now on.

The young men who attend professor Clark's Socialist (?) class are bright intelligent youths, altruistically inclined, but in danger of having all their lofty ideals run into the ground through the unscientific, unsound and untrue teachings of Messrs. Clark and P. D. Q. Bliss.

The machinery department of one of the establishments when asked how he liked the improved conditions said: "These things make no difference to me. No matter what beautiful things may be seen from the windows, I must keep my eyes on the machine. Of what use is a bath to me here when my family at home have none? As for their lunch, there is but little variety in the bill of fare, and it often contains food I cannot eat. When you have but a half-hour for dinner, you will find you don't get much chance to sit in the smoking room, and play billiards or do anything else. From my observation all these things are but show places, they are fakes. Why, not one of these features cost the company one cent. You see that beautiful stretch of flower bed out there; well, the work was done by the men employed here. They did it in their own time. The company offered a paltry prize, and the foreman of the department encouraged all his men to try for it."

Summing up, this workman said: "See, I tell you what it is when you have to work like hell for a living, it doesn't make much difference what kind of surroundings you have."



# JAURES' SPEECH.

[Last week the speech was published with which Guesde answered Jaures at the Lille debate. The speech of Guesde was complete in itself, both as to where experienced and, consequently, straight-forward Socialism was sliding down to. The speech by which the debate was opened, Jaures' speech, stating the case for inexperienced and slippery Socialism, is now given below. If Guesde's speech is an inspiration, Jaures' speech must be a warning, for us in America. The two make up an invaluable guide for all those who are laboring in the field of the Social Question with an honorable purpose, and with a proper sense of the seriousness of the situation that capitalism is at any time capable of creating.]

**CITIZENS.**—The greatest pleasure you would give us is not to applaud us, but to listen to us. It is a great honor to the Socialist Party to institute debates like this. I believe I may say there is no other party with sufficient faith in the power of its own principles to thus institute a political debate among its militants.

We have nothing to conceal. We are the party of discipline in action, always ready to subject our conduct to the orderly decision of the organized Party. But we are at the same time the Party of freedom, always on the alert upon the best measures to emancipate the proletariat.

I propose to explain myself here without heat and without reserve.

**THE START OF THE DISSENSION.**

When was born, when and how, the disension between Guesde and myself? And when I say Guesde, it is well understood that the question is not some miserable personal quarrel. The dispute, the disagreement between us, is a good deal nobler, and also a good deal more serious, seeing that the trouble is not one of those old and hateful rivalries that our common enemies speak of, but a disagreement on tactics and on methods, which it is our duty to submit to the Party and which the Party will pass upon sovereignly. [Cheers.]

Well, then, when was this disagreement born?

It has been said, it has been repeated, that the trouble began with the entrance of a Socialist into a bourgeois cabinet. Indeed, that event aggravated, it goaded the differences as to methods that already existed. Upon this subject I shall touch later. But that event did not create the differences. The differences already existed; they had already manifested themselves with regard to the Dreyfus affair.

You will remember how, while several of my companions in that struggle, together with myself, were engaged in that battle, resolved to carry the matter to the end, there appeared during the month of June, 1898, a manifesto of the National Council of our comrades of the French Labor Party. That manifesto warned the workmen, warned the proletariat, not to go too far in that struggle, to reserve their energies for the class struggle.

Later, when there appeared the resounding manifesto on the morrow of Millerand's entrance into the Cabinet, the manifesto declared that it was the duty of the Socialists not only to halt before this particular event, but also to correct the false steps, which, according to the manifesto, began two years earlier. This was an additional condemnation of the tactics that several of us had pursued in the matter of the Dreyfus affair.

And more recently, in the course of the speech that he pronounced at Vautier Hall, on the occasion of the death of Liebknecht, coming back upon this ominous question, Guesde declared once more that we were wrong in entering into a combat, undertaken in an ill-vised manner,—that we had thus served nationalistic interests,—that it was the business of the bourgeoisie to repair the wrong done by bourgeois society, and finally that, by this conduct, we had deserted the field of the class struggle.

I am, accordingly, justified in saying, without fear of contradiction, that the differences as to methods among us did not start with the question of Millerand, but that they started with the Dreyfus affair, and from that moment—(A VOICE: "Three cheers for Guesde!") OTHER VOICES: "Silence! Silence!")

**CHAIRMAN DELORY.**—Come, citizens! You have been requested to make no interruptions. Listen. You will then be free to pass upon the method that you prefer to adopt.

**JAURES.**—I believe my words can hurt no one. I have accurately summarized the accusations directed against us by our opponents, and I have added: Seeing that on the occasion of that conflict that moved the whole of thinking humanity, to take a hand, not only to defend an outraged human being, but in the very interest of the proletariat; seeing that on the occasion of that conflict it was said that we had abandoned the field of Socialism, the field of the class struggle; seeing all that, I hold that the first question we must determine is this: What is the Class Struggle? What is the meaning of that principle, so frequently invoked, and so rarely defined?

**THE CLASS STRUGGLE.**

To my mind, comrades, the idea of the Class Struggle is made up of three elements, of three ideas.

First of all, at the very root, there is assertion of fact, to wit, that the capitalist system, the system of private property in the means of production, divides mankind into two vast groups, necessarily and violently opposed. On the one side, are found those who hold the instruments of production, and who are thereby able to dictate the law to the others; on the other side are found those who, having, owning only their labor-power, and unable to utilize that, except through the instruments of production held by that very capitalist class, stand at the discretion of this capitalist class.

Between these two classes, between these two groups of interests there is an incessant struggle, the struggle of the wage-earner, who wishes to raise his sal-

ary and of the capitalist who wishes to lower it; of the wage-earner who wishes to encompass his freedom and of the capitalist who wishes to hold him down in subjection.

Here we have the first element in the Class Struggle. The condition of fact that forms its groundwork and determines it is the capitalist system of private property. And note well, seeing that here the issue is the means to work and, consequently, the means to live, the question is an essential, a fundamental one to man; it affects private life, it affects every-day life. Consequently, a conflict that has for its principle the division of society into property-holders and property-less is not a superficial one. It goes to the very roots of society, to the very roots of life. (Loud applause.)

But, citizens, it is not enough that there be a Struggle of Classes for there to be such antagonism between interests. If the proletariat, if the workmen did not conceive the possibility of a different social system; if, at the same time that they recognize the dependence in which they are held, the precariousness of existence that they suffer from, they did not perceive the possibility of a new social system and a juster; if they believed, if they could believe in the eternal necessity of the capitalist system which by degrees imposed itself upon them;—then could they renounce the attempt to redress a system of injustices. Such a task would not seem possible to them. (Interruptions.)

**CHAIRMAN DELORY.**—No interruptions, citizens! If there continue to be interruptions, I shall be compelled to call upon the ushers to make the interruptions leave the hall. (Applause and renewed interruptions.) Citizens! Don't you realize that it is worthier for you not to interrupt the two men who are to speak to you? If you interrupt, you will look as if you think Guesde is unable to answer Jaures; if you interrupt Guesde you will appear to believe the same of Jaures. I believe that the two men whom we have before us have enough talent to explain the two theories that confront us, without there being interruptions, which, as I stated before, can only disturb the discussion. (Applause.)

**JAURES.**—Accordingly, in order that there be truly a Class Struggle, in order that the whole organized proletariat join battle with capitalism, it is not enough that there be antagonism of interests between capitalists and wage-earners; it is requisite that the wage-earners expect by virtue of the very law of the evolution of history, the arrival of a new order, in which property, ceasing to be monopolistic, ceasing to be private and individual, shall become social to the end that all the associated producers participate both in the direction and the fruits of labor.

It is, accordingly, necessary that the interests facing one another, become conscious of themselves, conscious of being, if I may use the expression, two opposed social systems engaged in mutual struggle: one, modern society, inscribed in the title of bourgeois property; the other, the society of to-morrow, inscribed in the brains of the proletariat.

This is the struggle of the two social systems in modern society that constitutes a necessary element in the Class Struggle.

Finally, there is a third condition for the existence of the Class Struggle. If the proletariat could await its liberation, if it could await the transformation of the capitalist order into the collectivist or communist order as the award of a neutral authority, an arbitral authority raised above the interests in conflict, then it would not itself take into its own hands the defence of its Cause.

This, you know, is the theory of the "Christian Socialists"—some of whom recognize the existing dualism, the antagonism of interests,—but who say to the people: "Don't rise in rebellion; don't organize; there is a beneficent and celestial power, the power of the Church, that will cause fraternal justice to descend upon you without your knowing it."

Indeed, if the workers believed in that, they would abandon themselves to the guidance of that power on high, and there would be no Class Struggle. Neither would there be any Class Struggle if the workmen could expect their liberation from the capitalist class itself, from the privileged class itself yielding to an inspiration of justice.

You know, citizens, that so long as there lasted the period that Marx and Engels named "Utopian Socialism," the Socialists believed that the emancipation of the proletariat would be achieved from above.

Robert Owen, the great English communist, in order to realize social justice, appealed to the powers of the Holy Alliance, in session at the time at Vienna. Fourier, our great Fourier, expected every day the hour he had marked out, the arrival of the generous figure, who would carry to him the requisite capital to found the first community; and he expected that the mere example of this radiant community, propagating itself from circuit to circuit and thus extending the circle of organization and harmony, would suffice to emancipate and render man happy.

And later, from another viewpoint, Louis Blanc imagined that it would be the capitalist class—provided only it could return to some of the inspirations of 1793—that would be able to emancipate the proletariat. Towards the close of his "History of Ten Years," he invited the bourgeois class to constitute itself the guardian of the proletariat.

So long as the proletariat was in the frame of mind to await such guardians—celestial guardians or bourgeois guardians; so long as it was in the frame of

\*The Holy Alliance was a league, formed immediately after the downfall of Napoleon I, by the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia. Almost all the other European monarchs joined soon after. The ostensible purpose of the league was the defense of Christianity; its actual object was to prop up the thrones by resisting the latest influences of the French Revolution.

mind to expect its emancipation from other powers than its own, there was no Class Struggle.

The Class Struggle commenced the day when, by the light of the experience made during the June days, the proletariat learned that its hope of safety lay only in its own forces, in its own organization.

Thus it is that the principle of the Class Struggle—a principle that presupposes society divided into two large conflicting categories of property-holders and property-less; a principle, that, consequently, presupposes the proletarians as having become conscious of the oncoming social system and of collectivist experience—thus it is that the principle of the Class Struggle was completed by the conviction, acquired by the proletariat, that it had to emancipate itself, and alone was capable of emancipating itself. (Prolonged applause; cheers.)

**THE QUESTION OF TACTICS.**

Thus, citizens, it is that the Class Struggle appears to me. I suppose that upon that point there can be no difference between you and me. But I maintain that, after you have thus analyzed it, after you have thus defined it, it is impossible for you to use it in such way as to determine, in advance and in detail, the tactics to be pursued from day to day, the method of every day.

Yes; the principle of the Class Struggle compels you to cause the proletariat to feel its dependent position in modern society. Yes; it compels you to explain to them the new order of collectivist property. Yes; it compels you to organize yourselves into Trade Unions, into political bodies, into co-operative labor organizations, in short, to multiply the organizations of the class.

But it is not possible for you, by the mere idea of the Class Struggle, to decide whether the proletariat should take a hand in the electoral struggle, and under what conditions it must do so; whether it could or should, and under what conditions it should or could interest itself in the conflicts of the different capitalist fractions. It is not possible for you to say, by virtue of the principle of the Class Struggle alone, whether it is permissible for you to enter into electoral alliances, or whether you are bound to repudiate all alliances entered into.

That principle, so general, gives you a general direction; but you can no more deduct from it the tactics to be observed every day, than it would be enough for you to know the general direction of the winds in order to determine in advance the motions of each tree, the tremor of each leaf in the woods.

Likewise, it would be vain for you to know a general's whole plan of campaign. It would be impossible for you, with the general knowledge of that plan of campaign, to determine in advance the particular movements of defence and offence, of advance or retreat, which would have to be undergone by each of the tactical units that go to make up the army.

Consequently, in the name of the Class Struggle, we can agree among ourselves upon the general directions of the battle that is to be fought. But when the question shall be to determine in what measure we shall engage in the Dreyfus affair, or in what measure Socialists may penetrate into public office, then will it be impossible for you to decide the question if you limit yourselves to invocation of the Class Struggle.

In every separate case, you will have to look into the distinct interests of the proletariat. Accordingly, the matter is a question of tactics. And that's all we say. (Prolonged applause.)

For that reason you may not introduce the principle of the Class Struggle by saying, as our adversaries frequently do, that the Socialist Party must always be a party of opposition. I hold such a formula is singularly equivocal, and singularly dangerous.

Yes; the Socialist Party is a party of sustained, profound opposition to the whole capitalist system. That is to say, that all our actions, all our thoughts, all our propaganda, all our votes must be directed towards the suppression, as rapid as possible, of capitalist iniquity. But from the circumstance that the Socialist Party is thus fundamentally, essentially, a party of opposition to this whole social system, it does not follow that we are not to make any difference whatever between the several capitalist parties and the several capitalist governments that succeed one another.

Oh, yes! Modern society is divided into capitalists and proletarians. But, at the same time, this social system is threatened by the offensive reaction of all the forces of the past—by the offensive reaction of feudal barbarism and of the omnipotence of the Church. It is thus the duty of the Socialists, whenever republican liberty is in danger, from freedom of conscience is menaced, when the old prejudices that race hatred resuscitates, together with the atrocious religious quarrels of centuries ago, threaten to be rekindled,—it is then the duty of the Socialist proletariat to march with that fraction of the bourgeoisie that does not want to remain behind.

I am truly astonished at having to recall these elemental truths, that should be the patrimony and the rule of conduct of all Socialists. It is Marx himself, who wrote these words, admirable for their truthfulness: "We, revolutionary Socialists, we are with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and with the bourgeoisie against the feudal lords and their parsons." (Loud applause.)

**A VOICE.**—That's not true.

**CHAIRMAN DELORY.**—Citizens, it is to be regretted that such an interruption should take place, and for the reasons that I have mentioned.

**JAURES.**—Citizens! I recognize the comrade who addressed those unkind words to me. I limit myself to telling him this: You will verify with your friends, we shall verify together the accuracy of the quotation that I made; and if it is correct, I shall demand of you only one thing in reparation, and that is that at one of our next meetings, you loyally attest the fact from this very platform. (Cheers.)

\*Allusion to the revolution of 1848, when, in June, the working class insurgents were slaughtered wholesale by the very capitalist class, who had claimed to make common cause with them, and who had used them as pawns to fight its own battles.

In the same way that it is impossible for the Socialist proletariat—unless it is untrue to all its duties, all its traditions and all its interests,—to fail to distinguish between these bourgeois fractions that are most violently reactionary, and those that at least wish to save some vestige or some element of freedom, so likewise it is impossible, particularly to the Socialists elected to office, to fail to distinguish between the several bourgeois governments.

I need not insist upon that. The cool revolutionary sense of the people itself distinguishes between the Cabinet of Mr. Meline and the Cabinet of Mr. Rouvier; it makes a distinction between the Cabinet of today and the jingo combinations that are nagging it. I need no further proof than the unanimous vote of the Socialist group, that, a few days ago—

**A VOICE (satirically).**—For Chalons? **JAURES.**—Look out! You think you can embarrass me by flinging that word at me.

**CHAIRMAN DELORY.**—Citizens! Allow me to address myself to an old comrade, a founder of the Party, that is to say, one who has been in our ranks over twenty years, to tell him that he ought to be the first to have patience and to wait for the answer of Comrade Guesde. You know the consequence of interruptions: I appeal to the sincere comrades of our Party. Let them be careful not to encourage our adversaries by thus starting these interruptions. (Applause.)

**THE DREYFUS AFFAIR.**

**JAURES.**—I say, coming to the end of what I had in mind: There are hours when it is to the interest of the proletariat to prevent a too violent intellectual and moral degradation of the capitalist class itself. That is why, on the occasion of a military crime, there arose among the several bourgeois fractions the struggle that you know of. Accordingly, when a small minority of the capitalist class, despite the combined forces of unbridled calumny, sought to raise the cry of justice and to cause truth to be heard, it was then the duty of the proletariat, not to remain neutral, but to go over to the side where truth was suffering, to the side where humanity was crying.

Guesde said in Vautier Hall: "Let those who admire capitalist society busy themselves with redressing its wrongs; let those," said he, "who admire the sun of capitalism, apply themselves to wipe out its spots." (Great and prolonged applause.)

Very well, let him allow me to tell him: The day when a crime is committed against a man; the day when that crime is committed by the hand of the capitalist class, and the proletariat, by intervention, could have prevented the crime, it would not then be the capitalist or bourgeois class alone that would be responsible. The proletariat itself would then share the responsibility for the act. It would be the arm of the butcher, ready to strike, becomes the butcher's accomplice. It would not then be a spot that veils, that darkens the declining sun of capitalism, it would be a spot that would blur the rising Socialist sun. We have not wanted to see this blur of shame on the dawn of Socialism.

What is singular in all this, what the whole Socialist Party of Europe should know, is that at the very start of this great drama, it was the revolutionary Socialists who encouraged me most, and who pressed me most to enter the struggle.

You should know, comrades, how the question was raised before the Socialist group in the last legislature. When that question rose for the first time, when we had to ask ourselves what position we should take, the Socialist group found itself about equally divided.

On the one side, there stood those whose names you will allow me to mention,—these were then called the "Moderates." It was Millerand, it was Viriani, it was Jourde, it was Lavy, and then said: "Here is a ticklish question, one that we should not mix in."

On the other side, there stood those who might then have been termed the revolutionary left wing of the Socialist Party. On that side were Guesde, Vaillant and myself. We said: "No, that is a battle that must be fought."

Oh, I recall the admirable accents of Guesde when Zola's letter appeared. Our moderate comrades of the Socialist group said: "But Zola is no Socialist; Zola, after, is but a bourgeois; is the Socialist Party to be placed in the tow of a bourgeois writer?"

And Guesde, rising as if he were suffocating at the sound of such language, went and opened the window of the room in which the Socialist group was deliberating, saying: "The letter of Zola is the most revolutionary act of the century!" (Applause.)

And, subsequently, when, encouraged by his words as well as by my own convictions: when I went to testify in the Zola trial; when, in the presence of the assembled colonels and generals, whose crimes began to be suspected, before they had been thoroughly explored, I began to testify, to depose, and I returned to the Chamber, Guesde spoke to me these words, which I shall remember as long as I live: "Jaures, I love you, because, with you, the act always follows the thought." (Prolonged sensation.)

And, seeing that the cannibals of the General Staff continued whetting their fangs in the flesh of their victim, Guesde said to me: "When the day shall have come, what shall the Socialists do with a humanity so debased and vile?" And he continued with bitter eloquence: "Is it that we shall arrive too late? Will the human elements be rotten when it will be our turn to build our house?"

Now, then, why, after such words, why after these declarations, did the National Council of the Party, a few months later, in the month of July, seek to cause the proletariat to withdraw from that great battle?

Perhaps—I so sought to explain it to myself more than once—the revolutionists thought that we carried too long in that struggle, that we spent there too much of our strength, and of the strength of the people.

\*Chalons is one of the places where workmen on strike were treated to the ride without remonstrance from the Cabinet of which Millerand is a member.

But let them allow me to tell them: Where will the revolutionary energy be found in man on the decisive day, if, after a battle like this is engaged in against all the powers of oppression, we do not keep on until the end?

As for me, I wished to continue, I wished to persevere until the venomous beast was compelled to spew out its venom. Yes, it was necessary to pursue all the falsifiers, all the liars, all the butchers, all the traitors. It was necessary to pursue them at the point of Truth, as if at the point of the sword, until they should have been compelled to confess their crimes, the ignominy of their crimes, in face of the whole world. (Loud applause.)

And note well, the manifesto by which we were told to abandon this battle appeared in July. It preceded by a few weeks the confession, which by persevering, we forced from Colonel Henry.

Well, then, allow me to congratulate myself for not having heard the bugle call to retreat that was sounded at our ears; for having placed the mark of the Socialist proletariat, the mark of the Revolution, upon the discovery of one of the greatest crimes that the military caste ever committed against Humanity. (Applause.)

It was not lost. While those crimes were being uncovered, while you were learning to know all its shameful, all its calumniousness, all its machinations, the prestige of Militarism declined day by day in the spirits of men. Keep in mind that Militarism is dangerous only by reason of its being the armed guardian of Capital. It is dangerous also in that it seduces the people by a false image of grandeur by I know not what fraudulent pretence of devotion and self-sacrifice.

When this idol, so gloriously painted, and so superb, was seen to demand for the service of its monstrous appetite that whole generations be sacrificed; when it was found out to be rotten; and that it contained only dishonor, treason, intrigues and calumnies,—then Militarism received its death blow, nor did the Social Revolution lose thereby. (Loud applause.)

**A VOICE.**—Three cheers for Gallifet!

**JAURES.**—Accordingly, I held that the proletariat fulfilled its duty doubly towards itself. It is because, in this battle, the proletariat fulfilled its duty towards itself and towards humanity; it is because the proletariat carried its class action so high that, instead of taking the bourgeoisie for its guardian, as Louis Blanc proposed, itself became at that crisis the guardian of capitalist liberty, which the capitalists were incapable of defending; it is because the proletariat filled that decisive role in that great social drama that the direct participation of a Socialist in a capitalist cabinet was made possible.

**THE MILLERAND QUESTION.**

In whatever way you may judge the entrance of Millerand in the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet; in whatever way you may judge the tactics thus inaugurated and the results that flowed therefrom, you are all agreed, that at all events, the entrance of a Socialist in a bourgeois, a capitalist cabinet, is a striking sign of the growth, of the power of the Socialist Party.

You will remember that that is what Citizen Lafargue himself said barely a year ago. Opposed from the start to the entrance of Millerand in the Cabinet, he nevertheless, declared that there was in that fact a conclusive symptom of the growing force of our Party.

I remember that a few weeks ago, at the close of the International Congress, when despite the stupid display of the Police by Prefect Lepine, the delegates of International Socialism were about to carry a wreath to the wall of the Federation, the German Socialist Singer,—who represents the extreme left wing of the German Movement, and who alone among his fellow delegates voted against the conciliatory Kautsky Resolution—said: "The entrance of a Socialist in a bourgeois cabinet cannot be approved. As for me, as all the world knows, I blame the entrance of Millerand in a bourgeois cabinet. Nevertheless, I can not refrain from saying that, in view of the fact that thirty years ago the bourgeoisie shot down the proletariat, the Socialist Party has grown so tremendously that, in an hour of peril, in order to save elemental freedom, the bourgeoisie finds itself compelled to appeal to one from our ranks."

There cannot then be any doubt upon that point among us. Whatever judgment we may pass upon the formation of the affair, we would be found unanimous in proclaiming before all the bourgeois parties that the event attests the growing force of our Party.

Is it, then, just; is it wise; is it in keeping with principle that a Socialist participate in a bourgeois government?

Citizens! The hour has come, it seems to me, to discuss this question with calmness. Until now we have not discussed it but in the heat of tempests. As far as my experience goes,—do not take me ill if I recall the fact,—when I think of the convention of December, a year ago, or of the more recent Congress, end of September, I remember, true enough, to have heard arguments, but also constant cries of "Gallifet!" "Chalons!" "Martineau!"

I suppose we have stopped discussing in that way. Remember, such procedure in a discussion by means of which it is thought to strike us, might wound your friends themselves. You have thrown the word "Gallifet" at our faces to imply that, by approving of Millerand's entrance in the Cabinet, we became so to speak, responsible for all the past acts of Gallifet.

Be careful, comrades, you who are making to me a silent sign of interruption, for which I thank you, because it warns me, without disturbing the order of the meeting,—be careful!

You, here in Lille, the workmen of Lille, two months after the entrance of Millerand in the Cabinet, you received him here, you feasted him here, you cheered him here. I reckon that whatever the college of Gallifet was at that time, you did not mean thereby to cheer Gallifet himself. Consequently, do not

\*Gallifet was the leading military authority in the butchery of the Commune. He is a member of the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet, in which Millerand is Minister of Commerce.

shoot an arrow at us that must rebound upon ourselves. (Cheers.)

And, now, I wish to say but a few words touching the painful events of Martinique and of Chalons. But before doing so, let me remind those of our comrades, who allow themselves to be carried away so far as to constitute those events into a charge against us, that they incur an act of grave confusion.

When a cabinet is sustained in bourgeois society, even a cabinet where a Socialist is a member, that does not imply that one has the childishness of expecting that Cabinet, or of any bourgeois cabinet, full justice and full deference to proletarian interests. We know full well that capitalist society is the hot-bed of iniquity. We can get out of iniquity only by getting rid of capitalism.

But we also know that there are in bourgeois society some enemies more hateful and more violent than others. In sustaining a cabinet, we do so, not because we love such a cabinet more, but because we love the others and worse ones, that would replace it for sinister purposes, less.

Accordingly, it is a heinous injustice to reproach us with the faults, the errors or the crimes of those whom we stand by only in order to prevent greater crimes. (Loud applause.)

As to Martinique, let me tell you that hardly was the massacre of that place known in Europe, and while the first letters to our friends and first reports to the government were arriving, the Socialist group of the Antilles, assembled in Paris, called upon the Cabinet.

It asked these things of the Cabinet: it demanded the removal of the magistrates who had been most brutal in their conduct towards the strikers; it demanded the degradation, the strongest disciplinary punishment of Lieutenant Kahn, the murderous officer.

**A VOICE.**—He ought to be shot!

**JAURES.**—And it demanded the immediate discharge from prison of all the proletarians who were sentenced for their participation in the strike.

The officer has been punished; the judges have been removed; and the order has been issued by cable to discharge all the strikers who were sentenced. (Cheers.)

As to the strikes in France, I only say this: The government adopted certain tactics by which, all that is said to the contrary, notwithstanding, in future, if they shall know how to insist upon them, the workmen will be benefited: these tactics are to the effect that the municipal police shall not be superseded.

You know that the employers of Marseilles, like Mr. Thierry, have complained to the Government that it did not take the police force away from the Socialist Mayor of that city, our friend, Citizen Elaisieres.

As to Chalons, it was the crime of the municipality that was the cause of the disturbance, and gave occasion to the murders that took place.

Despite all, because we know that the workmen will enjoy greater guarantees if the municipal officers, elected by themselves, living among them, shall have charge of the police force, it is our duty to persist in the demand that the Police shall be left in the hands of the municipal politicians.

And let me tell you: If, because we have stood by the Waldeck-Rousseau Cabinet against jingoism, against reaction, you should be right in accusing us of I know not what complicity in the crimes of Martinique and Chalons, what will you say of your friends themselves?

What! Here you find, assembled on this very platform—I demand leave to speak with full freedom—you find assembled on this very platform the Mayors of the French Socialist Party. Now, then, I ask you, if the policy of the Government may be justly characterized by Martinique and Chalons; if those crimes were the true and characteristic expression of the Government;—what would you say of the municipal officers, who, having been elected, accepted as yours have done—and they were right—the invitation to break the bread of hospitality at the same banquet with these "murderous" Cabinet officers?

What! The Mayor of Lille, Citizen Delory; the Mayor of Fourmies, of Fourmies, mind you, the assassinated town!—all these elected Mayors, all of them carrying in their person the responsibility of their city, go and sit down at the same table with Waldeck-Rousseau! And, when the Chamber is reconvened, when there is an interpellation on the general policy, when the question is no longer Chalons and Martinique, but Sipido, ignominiously expelled, but Morgari, dismissed;—when all this is up, such, nevertheless, is the power of things, such is the supreme interest of the proletariat not to deliver itself to the jingo and clerical reaction, that all of you, elected ones, all, all, Zevae, who is present, as well as Vaillant, all gave a vote of confidence to the Government.

Be careful! If you say "Chalons" and "Martinique," it is not me alone whom you hit. (Loud applause and cheers.)

We may then—raising ourselves above these personal polemics and of these fratricidal quarrels—look into the question of principle itself and by itself.

I make free to tell you, with, perhaps, the presumptuous assurance that I shall not be belied by the years that are to come, I make free to tell you that every time when the Socialist Party of Europe, since thirty years, has tried a new method of action; every time that it renounced its original abstention, styled revolutionary, to enter into action and mix with events,—always have there been uncompromising people who have blamed the Socialist Party in the language that some of you address to-day

\*"French Labor Party" (Parti Ouvrier Français) is the official title of the organization of which Guesde is a member and which dissents from Jaures' policy. "Socialist Party," "Labor Party," are vague terms frequently used to designate in a general way the French Labor Party and all the Socialistic groups of France.

\*It was at Fourmies that, about twelve years ago, a May Day parade of workmen was shot into by the Army under revolting conditions, the soldiers having fired high, but the officers into the crowd. Many working people were killed.

In 1893, upon a report by Behn, Social Democrats of Germany made following declaration at the Cologne convention: "Whereas, it is contrary to the principles, hitherto observed by the Party to enter into compromises with the tile parties, because such conduct necessarily lead to demoralization, quarrels and to divisions in our

to the participation of a Socialist in a bourgeois government.

**TACTICS.**  
Oh, Citizens! During the last years the Socialist Party has moved forward in the world. It has taken part in many events, in many institutions that it formerly kept itself away from. We discuss to-day in order to ascertain whether the Socialist Party may participate, through one of its members, in a bourgeois Government. But we are all agreed in saying that the Socialist Party must participate in Parliamentary action.

Do not, Comrades, run away with the idea that it was always so. In the history of the Socialist Party, there were during these thirty years a time when those who advised the entrance of the Socialists into Parliament were treated as violently, denounced as bitterly, we are to-day.

Listen, I pray you, to what Wilhelm Liebknecht—the great Social Democrat whose death Socialist humanity wept over—to what Comrade Liebknecht wrote in 1890. In 1890, at the time when, after two years of universal suffrage, the Parliament of the Confederation of North Germany was created, Liebknecht wrote a pamphlet upon the Socialists could and should do in Parliament.

Not only did he object to their occupying themselves with reform, but he considered that the parliamentary tribune was useless, even for the purpose of pure propaganda. He said:



the Cologne convention declares: "It is the duty of the Party members in Prussia to wholly abstain from participation in the elections to the Landtag under the existing electoral system."

But they were not long in perceiving that, in abstaining from participation in the elections, they would allow the liberal bourgeoisie to be crushed by the reactionary parties, and that the rights of the proletariat—the right of association and organization—were menaced. In 1897, at Hamburg; in 1898, at Stuttgart, and in 1899 they began to allow the Socialists of Prussia to take a hand in the elections for the Prussian Landtag.

But that was not all. Finally, the Socialists, who, in 1893, had demanded of the Labor Party that it forbid all its members from participating in the elections for the Prussian Landtag—that same Socialists, understanding the mistake that had been made, demanded in 1900, at the Mainz convention, a contrary vote.

At this Mainz convention, seven years after the prohibition, the German Socialists issued the order to the Prussian Socialists to participate in the elections for the Prussian Landtag. And yet, it was in the name of the Socialists that it was in the name of Party tactics, that, in 1893, the German Socialists were forbidden from participating in the elections for the Landtag.

It was later seen that the Class Struggle compelled the proletariat to defend its elemental liberties by coalescing, if necessary, with the liberal fraction of the bourgeoisie. Whence once "NO" had been said, now "YES" was said; and an order was issued. Will you accuse them of having become traitors? (Loud applause.)

I say to you, without being new able to give you all the reasons, that likewise the hour came when the unified Socialist Party, organized, will issue the order to one of its members to go and act himself in a bourgeois Government, as to control the mechanism of bourgeois society, so as to resist as much as possible the tendencies towards reaction, so as to co-operate a much as possible in the works of reform.

UNITY.

Citizens and friends: I have already shown your good-natured attention, and yet I could not console myself for breaking off my presentation of the affair, for having it incomplete, so as to yield the floor to Guesde, if I abstained from saying that, after all, whatever the difficulties may be, whatever the difficulties may be, whatever may be the polemics, that, at a certain time, may break out among Socialists, they will come together again.

We shall come together again no longer to quarrel, no longer to dispute, but when the Party shall be organized for the purpose of jointly, like loyal comrades, seeking the best way of serving the interests of the Party. Ah, the Party is told: "Remain isolated; stand off; do not mix in the governmental action; keep as far as possible aloof from the bourgeois state."

But I say to you that all the great revolutions have been made in the world because the new social order, before existing, had penetrated through all the cracks, and all the rootlets into the ground of the old order.

The other day somewhat in a laughing way, Kautsky said to us: "Do you imagine you will conquer the governing power of the State by conquering one Cabinet seat after another? That is a notion which would be like it, at the time of the religious reformation, the Protestants had imagined they would conquer the world by conquering one cardinal after another in the Sacred College."

I beg Kautsky's pardon. That which constituted the force of heresies, of the great revolt for religious freedom of conscience, that which, accordingly, constituted the force of the Protestant Reformation, was just the fact that it started by seizing a portion of the power of the old Church itself, its force lay in the circumstance that, during the XVI. Century, there was a time when the faithful were not certain whether their Cardinals, Bishops, or monks had remained with the Pope or had gone over to Luther.

The Church felt this so well; it understood so thoroughly that the danger to it lay in that process of penetration, that the Order of the Jesuits, organized to save the Church, took for its signal the order to penetrate everywhere, and of itself remaining impenetrable to all.

The Church saved itself for centuries by shutting its doors to the influences of the new order. But that which the Church could, the bourgeois democracy can do. It will not be able to lock itself up. It already allowed you to penetrate into the municipalities.

Much is said about the responsibility that a Socialist Minister assumes in a bourgeois Cabinet. Do your elected municipal officers, perchance, assume no responsibility?

Are they, perchance, no part of the bourgeois State? The very universal suffrage through which they are chosen, is regulated, is defined by bourgeois law. We are inclined to triumph over the "uncompromising" view, in point, where none of your friends plant themselves, how could I not ring the changes upon you of the fact that you thus accept municipal power at the hands of a system of universal suffrage from which the capitalist, bourgeois law, by excluding all people who are supported from public funds, all traveling workmen, excludes the poorest of the proletariat? How could I not ring upon you the changes of the fact that the Socialist Mayor, as Socialist as he is, can be suspended by the central power, and remain for a year disqualified from re-election? How could I not ring upon you the changes of the fact that, for the very reason of his being Mayor, he necessarily accepts the duty to apply to administer a large number of bourgeois laws? How could I not write upon you the changes that, if constant conflicts were to break out in the streets, he would himself be compelled—under penalty of allowing it to be said that Socialism means pillage and murder—to apply to the public powers!

Look at Marseilles. These very days, what responsibilities did not weigh upon the Socialist Mayor? In assisting at the landing of Krueger, and in protecting the English residents against possible violence from the mob, he no longer was the Socialist Mayor of Marseilles, he was charged with the safety of the whole of France in the face of the world.

And it would be quite convenient to be

a Socialist Mayor if one were not obliged to reckon at the same time with all the responsibilities. That is just the reason why the task is difficult. We are all together a part of the conquering proletariat, joined to a part of the bourgeois State.

That's why it is not enough to have a mere mechanism in order to make a Socialist Majority move. Men of brains are needed, men of prudence, of thought and reflection; men like Plaisierson, men like Delory. (Great cheering. Cries of "Three Cheers for Delory.")

Yes, in the measure that the power of Socialism grows, grows also its responsibility.

But of this responsibility, we have no fear, the Socialist Party has no fear. It has confidence in the working class, provided only that class be organized, be face of all the other anarchic and discordant parties, it constitute only one party, one class.

Indeed, there will be among us, for a long time perhaps, differences as to methods and tactics. But there are such differences in Belgium, in Germany. That does not prevent them from being united, from loyally, cordially discussing, like comrades.

And it is in that way that we wish to discuss. We wish to prepare, in the full light of to-day the great Socialist unity, the great Socialist fraternity—we wish to establish it by light, by reason, by organization. And the purpose of that is to start, first, with the work or reform, and through that, do the initial work of revolution. I am not a "moderate," I am, with you, a revolutionist.

## CAPITALIZATION FOR 1900.

During the Year New Companies Capitalized at \$2,415,423,500 Were Formed

That merchants, capitalists and investors generally believe that the "good times" for them are here to stay is well shown by the rush to incorporate big companies that marked the year which came to an end on Monday. In the course of the year companies having a capitalization of \$2,415,423,500 were formed in the United States, and in December alone companies having a total capitalization of \$197,873,500 were formed. November was a busy month too, but the record for the year was established in March, when the launching of several enormous concerns sent the total for the month up to \$502,900,000. In April the aggregate was \$325,250,000. The records for the various months are as follows: January, \$208,750,000; February, \$124,350,000; March, \$502,900,000; April, \$325,250,000; May, \$281,600,000; June, \$168,200,000; July, \$185,700,000; August, \$99,900,000; September, \$90,700,000; October, \$108,350,000; November, \$148,850,000; December, \$197,873,500.

New Jersey took the lead in the matter of granting charters to new companies in December and there is a big margin between it and the next State on the list. In New Jersey during the month there were companies incorporated having a total capital of over \$90,000,000, and the total of those organized with a capital of \$1,000,000, or over, amounted to \$63,600,000.

Considering only those companies organized with a capital of \$1,000,000, or over, the leading States of December rank as follows: New Jersey, \$63,600,000; West Virginia, \$40,200,000; Colorado, \$20,850,000; New York, \$13,525,000; Maine, \$8,000,000.

The highest capitalized company incorporated in New Jersey in the last month of the year was the International Crude Rubber Company. Its capital is \$30,000,000.

New York in December granted a charter to only one company having a very large capital. This was the National Food Company with a capital of \$10,000,000. In Colorado mining companies took the lead.

## FLOOD OF PENSION CLAIMS.

Veterans of the Cuban War Emulate the Subsidy Capitalists.

WASHINGTON, January 2.—Between 35,000 and 40,000 pension claims have been filed on account of services in the Cuban war and its sequel in the Philippines. Almost all of them date back to the Cuban war, and the ratio of the number of claims to the number of men who smelt powder or saw actual service of any sort is obviously enormous. The Philippine troubles, oddly enough, furnish a very limited pension contingent. The pension-attorneys and claim-agents are expecting to reap a rich harvest. The shysters have their hired "runners" out in the street at San Francisco, watching for soldiers discharged from hospital and about starting for home in the interior. The runner nuisance became so intolerable a while ago that the hospital authorities devised the plan of sending discharged patients to the railway station in covered wagons, to protect them from the importunities of the claim-agents.

The next move of the shysters was to seek an entrance into the hospital itself. This the authorities were able to prevent as long as the identity of these men or their hirelings could be discovered; but presently the authorities conceived a new trick, and it came to be noticed that there was an addition to the usual number of feminine visitors bringing flowers to the bedside of the sick and wounded soldiers. Then the fact leaked out that some of the ministering angels were emissaries from the pension bar, employed to convey to each soldier visited the address of a lawyer who would get a pension for him with the greatest dispatch and the utmost secrecy.

With such abundant resources of strategy to draw upon, it would not be surprising if the attorneys succeeded in raising the total of the pension list by a good many thousand on account of the Philippine troubles.

## SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM.

The Nineteenth Century, ushered in by a mighty revolution which placed the "Third Estate," or capitalist class, at the head of human affairs, closed upon scenes of barbarity unsurpassed in the annals of mankind. Under the rule of that class science, industry and commerce, instead of bringing peace to the world, have vastly extended the area of war and intensified its horrors. And not only between the nations, but between the classes of each national body, a conflict is raging that dwarfs in blind cruelty all previous human turmoils.

Yet the Nineteenth Century has its admirers; and they are not all among its beneficiaries. By some of its most injured victims its true character is indeed best comprehended. In the stupendous chaos resulting from violent shocks between the new elements and untamed forces suddenly set free by the breaking up of the feudal crust, they clearly see that process of world-creation—or world-formation—which is physically paralleled in the nebular regions of the universe. They see that the various capitalistic forms successively assumed by the industrial organism in the course of that process were essentially transient and even short-lived, but that they obeyed in their order of appearance a well-defined, inexorable law of development. And, dark as the last form may be at the close of the Nineteenth Century, they can see through it the rapidly growing body of Humanity, that will soon emerge in full glory from its hideous envelope.

To such as view the past century in the broad light of Socialism, the progress of science, in particular, is a fit subject of admiration, regardless of the ill-use to which it has been put. But right here a strange phenomenon attracts their attention. How ignorant the scientific corps actually is of the social value of its own work; how narrow its conception of the social effects which that work must have in the near future, is glaringly shown by the recent contributions of eminent scientists to the "fin de siècle" extravaganzas of our daily press. Here comes, for instance, the famous Ramsay and gives in the New York "Sun" a history of chemistry. Read his conclusion: "It is obvious that that nation which possesses the most competent chemists, theoretical and practical, is destined to succeed in the competition with other nations for commercial supremacy and all its concomitant advantages." What? Is "competition between nations," with a view to "commercial supremacy" and all that sort of "advantages," the end of chemistry? Go to, Ramsay; this thing of converting human brain and bone and blood into gold by the competitive process is not chemistry; it is the merest capitalistic alchemy.

History, then, will record this fact—a deplorable fact to be sure, but by no means indicative of the trend of the human mind—that at the end of the Nineteenth Century most of the learned were still belonging to that school of scientists to whom 't. Simon, at the beginning of it, bluntly said that they were only false prophets, narrow-minded specialists, and that no science was worthy of the name that did not contemplate the welfare of the man-world in its integrity. Numbers of them, while professing to be Darwinians, are simply Malthusians. Nay, worse than that; whenever they venture into the domain of philosophy, or sociology, or even pure and simple economy, they pervert the doctrine of intellectual evolution into a doctrine of brutal competition. And in this connection, note, furthermore, that their observation of economic phenomena has not kept pace with the economic development; that they still recognize competition as the law of capitalistic progress, although capitalism, in order to progress, has rid itself of that so-called law, and substituted for it the law of concentration; a feat, by the way, which capitalism could not have performed but with the aid, or rather by the act, of science itself. Outside their laboratories they know not, therefore, what they do. They resemble the astronomer of the fable, who, looking at the stars, falls into a pit. Impregnated with the most antiquated superstitions of a mercantile life in its infancy, they remain as far behind the age in their conception of society, present and future, as is the dealer in Egyptian onions who votes for Bryan. In their laboratories, however, they do a great work. They build better than they know. We accept with thanks their useful discoveries and reject with scorn their pernicious theories.

Of course, there are creditable exceptions, and among these may be found the significant name of Alfred Russell Wallace. The friend of Darwin, who shares with him the glory of having established on the rock of science the fundamental law of natural evolution, was in duty bound to repudiate its false interpretation by men of ability in their respective fields of research, yet, owing chiefly to the influences of their environment, short-sighted in their views of the social world, Wallace may not be, in the full sense of the term, a "Scientific Socialist," but, recognizing the "absolute failure of all political and administrative reform, religious teaching, charity, etc., under the most favorable conditions which it is possible to conceive—that is, coincidentally with a continuous increase of man's power over nature and an almost inconceivable development of labor-saving machinery"—he "perceives, with Marx, Liebknecht, William Morris and a number of other independent thinkers, that the source of the evil is far deeper than has generally been suspected," and actually "lies at the very foundations of our social system." Socialism, he says, "has been slower in taking hold of the public mind in England and America than on the European continent, but it is now firmly established and seems likely to increase steadily in both countries."

"Likely?" No; unquestionably. We are aware that in sociology a problem may seem to be sufficiently well stated

to permit of its theoretical solution; yet may remain practically insoluble for a long period. In social as in natural evolution time and environment are factors of the highest power, which are not always properly considered by mere theorists. But when in the course of time the environment has been so modified as to threaten the existence of any organism that has not gradually adapted itself to the changing conditions, that organism must either disappear or undergo in very short order the whole transformation required for its survival. In most cases, however, it is found that this transformation, though not readily perceptible, has actually taken place in all its essentials. Likewise, the apparently rapid progress of the public sentiment and public understanding in revolutionary times is only a visible manifestation of the gradual changes which the popular mind has imperceptibly and even unconsciously been undergoing for a greater or less number of antecedent years, in correspondence with the gradual changes in the economic and social conditions. In other words, the people are then ready for a revolution; and the kind and extent of the revolution for which they are ready depends chiefly, if not exclusively, on the nature and magnitude of the transformation accomplished in the economic field. (Thus the French Revolution of 1789 was necessarily successful and far-reaching; but the French uprising of 1818 was necessarily a failure.)

Therefore, if we want to know (not exactly, of course, but approximately), how near we are to a revolution—and we mean here a true revolution, not a mere uprising—we must first consider the economic distances, respectively covered by the social classes involved since the last social upheaval has taken place. To a consideration of this sort we shall next give our attention; and we shall then find that, owing to the economic action of America upon the Old World, we are nearing a crisis from which Socialism must emerge long before the sun of the Twentieth Century shall have reached its zenith.

At the birth of the Nineteenth Century, modern capitalism was in its infancy; but it was the fundamental principle of the new social order then emerging from the ruins of feudalism, and it soon became apparent that the nation which would take the lead in capitalist development would also take the lead in political power. Solvay because of her commercial superiority, consequent upon her advance in machinery, England held the undisputed right to reconstruct the map of Europe at the close of the Napoleonic wars, although her own armies had played a very secondary role in the twenty-five years' military conflict that followed the French Revolution. Again, France, owing chiefly to her industrial development, recovered in the early years of the reign of Napoleon—the little, some of her former military prestige, and political influence, many of the continental nations becoming indebted to her financiers. At that time, indeed, the star of England was somewhat dimmed in the European sky, and although she was more powerful than ever as a maritime and colonial power, she had to lean upon France for successful defense against the aggressions of the Cossack Empire. But with the growth of German industry, which naturally induced among the German people an irresistible desire for national unity, not only France fell to their ruin, but England found herself sorely pressed by German competition on many distant markets which she had until then considered as permanently subjected to the domination of her merchants.

All of this while, however, a new nation, formed by rebellious subjects of Great Britain, and in American contentment was intent upon developing its own capitalism. Vainly did England, apprehensive of the future, seek in many ways to check the growth of this upstart. By purchase and conquest the American republic, comparatively small in population and territory, acquired a continuous empire from the Atlantic to the Pacific in the westness of which millions of European emigrants, driven from the Old World by misery, despotism and war, pitched their tents and carved out local estates for their own selves. Inasmuch as agriculture was of necessity and for a long time their chief pursuit, and seeing that while their capacity of production in this line was beyond their own needs, their nascent manufacturing industry—despite the high tariff wall in the protective shield of which they were rapidly expanding—were constantly falling short of the requirements of a population advancing in numbers and prosperity, England, who needed both cheap cereals for her wage-slaves and new markets for her capitalists, recommended herself to the situation. She went even so far as to invest billions in American lands and industries, besides getting American heiresses of the most valuable blood for her grandest but most dilapidated lords.

It goes without saying that on both sides of the Atlantic capitalism followed its natural course from competition to the process through which this rampant nation is accomplished as more rapid and effective in America than in Europe. A part of that process—the only part actually noticeable in the earlier stage—is bankruptcy. Then follows trustification. For all practical purposes, bankruptcy has achieved its work in the United States, and trustification has been proceeding at a prodigious rate since 1895. Of course we still have failures and shall continue to have a greater or less number of them until nothing remains of that middle class so prosperous in former days and now existing by mere subsistence in those petty branches of trade and industry which the trustifiers have not yet deemed worthy of attention. But in all the great lines of commerce and manufacture, trustification here is nearly complete. Not so in Europe; nor even in England, where this last mode of concentration is hardly more advanced than it was here twenty years ago, and where the methods of production, despite the progress of machinery during that period, are consequently also less effective than in this country.

Having at last gained this advantage over the capitalists of Europe, the capitalism of America was not slow to perceive and to improve it. Not content with such "territorial expansion" as was necessary to safeguard its "commercial interests" in uncivilized countries, it boldly invaded by surprise, as it were, the European markets, and the Nineteenth Century closes with

capitalist America at the head of the commercial nations of the world.

We have not yet the figures of our foreign trade for the last month of 1900; but from calculations which the official record will not sensibly alter, it appears that the exports of American merchandise in the last year of the century reached a total of \$1,440,000,000, and that the balance of trade in favor of this country—the excess of exports over imports—will exceed \$600,000,000. In that grand total figure all kinds of manufactures, and notably iron, steel and machinery, our banks are gorged with money and enormous amounts of American treasure are being idle in European coffers. During the year a small portion of the vast money surplus accumulated by our capitalists since 1874 was lent to the governments of England and Sweden. Russia and Switzerland are now looking to the same sources for the considerable loans which they require.

And what does all that mean to the working class? It means that the great international struggle for commercial supremacy has just begun; and that the battle of all sorts to which it must give rise are to be fought upon the backs of the workers with unprecedented cruelty. Europe, who for the past three years, seemed unconscious of the danger threatened to her industries by the concentration of American capitalism, is now awakening. She must, of necessity, adopt the American method in order to fight away the invader. From England comes the news that she has resolutely entered the field of trustification. Germany, shaken to her iron foundations, will not tarry. France must follow. Look out for crises, the like of which we never saw. And onward with Revolutionary Socialism!

LUCIEN SANIAL.

## ABOUT THE CARNEGIE INDUSTRIES.

Facts Which Are Not Known to the General Public.

The Carnegie industrial system, which now embraces the mining and transportation of ore by rail and water and the manufacturing of coke, is the growth of years and represents the enterprise of the man who laid the foundation. In this respect it is unlike many contemporaneous organizations recently formed in the steel trade, comprising numerous small concerns originally competitive and created by many individuals. The iron and steel manufacturing plants of the company now include nineteen blast furnaces (two buildings), three steel works with eight Bessemer converters and fifty-six open-hearth furnaces (twelve buildings), five rolling plants with thirty-four mills, an armor-plate works, and a forge for the manufacture of locomotive and car axles. These are all Cyclops worthy of the Homeric archetype. The works enumerated, with the improvements under way and completed, will have an aggregate capacity of 3,430,000 tons of steel per annum, equal to 32.56 per cent of the production of the United States, 12.65 per cent of the output of the world, and nearly 71 per cent of the production of Great Britain, measured by the production for 1890.

In recent years extensive mines of rich iron ore have been added to the company's possessions in the Lake Superior region, and it now mines about 25 per cent of the output of the district, which amounted last year to more than 4,000,000 tons. From the docks at the lake shipping ports the ore is carried in vessels owned or chartered by the company to Conneaut harbor, Lake Erie, where it is transhipped by rail 153 miles to the furnaces via the Pittsburgh, Bessemer & Lake Erie Railroad.

The magnitude of the steel-manufacturing operations of the present day may be appreciated from the fact that during 1899 the receipts of raw material and shipments of finished product of the three largest Carnegie works aggregated 15,000,000 tons. In the mining, transportation and manufacturing operations the company provides employment for about 50,000 persons, and disburses yearly about \$50,000,000 to its operative and administrative forces. The business transacted is exceeded by few, if any, commercial organizations in America or Europe.—The Engineering Magazine.

## NEW BRITAIN SOCIALISTS.

Their Attitude on Capitalist Attempts to Corrupt.

NEW BRITAIN, Conn., Jan. 2.—New Britain Section, Socialist Labor Party, at its last meeting, discussed the appointment by the Mayor of Edward Laphorn as a member of the charter revision committee.

It is a principle of the Socialist Labor Party that none of its members shall accept a public position of any kind at the hands of the capitalist class.

They hold that candidates for every such position should be elected by the people.

Laphorn, it is said, is not a staunch member of the party, and it was for that reason that the Mayor selected him. His object in doing so, is for the purpose of using the vote of Laphorn to carry out the capitalist schemes in the revised charter, thus opening the way to corruption, and to make the Socialist Labor Party help bear the odium that will attach to the charter inquiries.

After a thorough discussion of the matter, the following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, With the Socialist Labor Party, not so-called "prominence" and taxpaying, but strict and unconditional loyalty to the interests of the working class are the qualities determining a man's qualifications to serve the public: "Whereas, It stands to reason that a mayor representing parties which in their very nature are antagonistic to the Socialist Labor Party, cannot well be an impartial judge as to who would be the best socialist from the Socialist Labor Party standpoint, to serve on certain committees.

"Be it therefore: "Resolved, That hereafter no member of the Socialist Labor Party shall accept appointments from the mayor, on so-called 'prominent citizens' and taxpayers' committees, unless said member is the choice of the Socialist Labor Party or of the socialist delegation in the council.

"Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution be given to the press."

THE

## Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance

versus the

## "Pure and Simple" Trade Union.

A Debate held at New Haven, Conn., November 25, 1900, between

DANIEL DE LEON,

representing the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party, and

JOB HARRIMAN,

representing the "Pure and Simple" Trade Union and the Social Democratic Party.

Stenographically reported by Benjamin F. Keinard.

Press of the work incident to the closing weeks of 1900 prevented our getting this valuable pamphlet out sooner. The slight delay, however, has enabled us to place more than ordinary care on the mechanical details. As a result it will be one of the most tasty books yet issued. It is set in leaded minion on brevier slugs, with the quotations in leaded nonpareil.

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## ERIN'S HOPE.

THE END AND THE MEANS.

By JAMES CONNOLLY, Editor of "The Workers' Republic," the Official Organ of the Irish Socialist Republican Party.

"Erin's Hope: The End and the Means," is an excellent book for agitation among Irish and Irish-American Workingmen. The author traces the natural development of Ireland from the days when the land was common property down through the stormy period of the English conquest to the present. He shows that the struggles of the Irish with their English conquerors was a struggle over the method of ownership of land, the Irish standing for common ownership, the English struggling for individual ownership. The development of the Irish Middle Class is interestingly told, and the fallacy of Home Rule as a remedy for Ireland's wrongs is clearly demonstrated. The book closes with a ringing appeal to the Irish Working Class of America to slap in the face the capitalists Grants, Gilroy and Crokers, and join en masse the militant Socialist Labor Party.

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CHAPTER I.—Conditions for a Successful Revolution.—Failure of Revolution of 1848.—Failure of Fenian Movement.—Programs of Irish Politics Have Always Been Broad and Loose to Catch the Masses.—Program of Revolutionary Movement Must Be Narrow and Intolerant.

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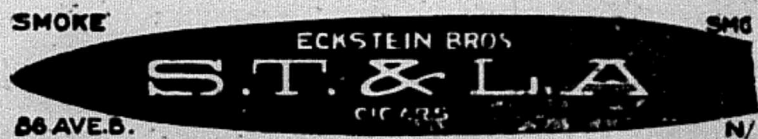
CHAPTER V.—Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Irish Working Class of America to Join the Socialist Labor Party.

CHAPTER VI.—Why the Irish-American Workingman Should Join the Socialist Labor Party.

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The American Federation of Labor has announced that it intended to organize the metal workers of the country. The metal workers are over 500,000 strong. The purpose of the organization will be to resist the attempts to reduce wages by the powerful combinations of capital. Divided as they have been, they say, they are at the mercy of the trusts.

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Entered as second class matter at the New York Post Office, June 27, 1900.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888..... 2,068  
In 1892..... 21,157  
In 1896..... 86,564  
In 1900..... 34,191



I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.  
MILTON.

## "TIGHT" AND "LOOSE" ORGANIZATION.

A Cincinnati, O., correspondent raises a certain objection that "deserves special treatment, inasmuch as it offers an unusual opportunity by which to vindicate the wisdom that guides the councils of the Socialist Labor Party.

Our correspondent is of the correct opinion that "it cannot but be admitted that Socialism is taught only by the S. L. P.," nevertheless, he concludes that it "can all be of no avail," because "so tightly organized and disciplined a party" could never expect to be "attractive to the mass of the voters." Our correspondent elaborates this point, and supplements it with the observation that "even the Socialist parties that are organized upon a broader structural principle, have shown themselves unable to rally a sufficiently large number of voters to their standard. No Socialist political party will achieve the Social Revolution. The disease has too much the lead of the physician. The Socialist Republic will come, must come; but it will not merge out of the dust of the battle of ballots, it will rise out of the smoke of battle delivered and won by the masses of the American people, who will have grown tired of trying."

If this reasoning means anything, it means this:  
"Political action is useless. The revolution can be the product of organized physical force only; this alone will raise the Socialist Republic; all political organizations, whether tightly or loosely constructed, are vain."

Granted, for the sake of argument, that the above premises are correct and the Socialist Republic can emerge from the battle field only, never from the hustings; granted, for the sake of argument, that such premises are correct, then the conclusion must be just the reverse of that arrived at by our Cincinnati correspondent. In the very measure that one is certain that force must be the arbiter, a tightly constructed political organization becomes necessary.

The principal purpose of a revolutionary political organization must be to EDUCATE. How are the masses to be educated upon Socialism unless sound instruction be imparted to them? And how can sound instruction proceed from an organization that is loosely constructed? The instruction, that such an organization will bestow, cannot choose but be as loose as the organization itself from which it proceeds; it will reflect the looseness of thought that distinguishes its parent. Those who, according to our correspondent, are to lay upon the battle field the foundation of the Socialist social structure, must have been tutored in Socialist architecture. Our correspondent admits that such instruction proceeds to-day only from the Socialist Labor Party camp. His admission, coupled with his premises, constitutes additional testimony to the wisdom of the S. L. P.

Let the issue be what it may—peaceful or violent—EDUCATION is the watchword of the day. To spread EDUCATION broadcast through the land there must be an organization in charge of the work. Such organization must be fearless, merciless in its logic, intolerant as science, narrow as Truth alone can be. It can be none of these if it compromises as much as a hair's breadth; in other words, it can not perform its work if it is structurally loose.

Idle is the cry of numbers. Silly are all tears, or jeers, as the case may be, on the S. L. P. vote. The S. L. P. knows itself. All it needs is an organization sufficiently tight to keep out water, and devoted enough to enable it to carry on its work of EDUCATION, unflinchingly, relentlessly.

If a peaceful solution be still possible, the light-tower from which alone the

light of Socialism has been shooting its rays across the thick, black clouds that rolled upon it, is bound to be the rallying point for the masses.

If a peaceful solution shall have become impossible, then, gladly will the light-tower of the S. L. P. share in the general ruin, conscious that, while its peaceful aspirations suffered shipwreck with all its rivals, yet only the light it alone spread survives, powerful enough to organize Tumult into Intelligent Action.

By all means the S. L. P.!

## GEN. COLVILLE'S UGLY FACT.

The passage in General Colville's charges against Lord Roberts and General Kitchener, in which he says that these officers expected, indeed, ordered him to sacrifice his force of 4,000 men so as to save a corps d'élite of 500 Yeomanry, has other and deeper significance than a revelation concerning the military condition in the Transvaal. The passage is pre-eminently of sociologic value.

When General White was locked up and starving in Ladysmith; when General Methuen, along with his subaltern heads of division, was being mowed down; when General Buller was being caught in Boer traps with the regularity of clockwork, and paying dearly for it with men and ordnance;—in those dark hours of "British Glory," just about a year ago, the news flashed from England that it took just such critical occasions to bring out "England's power, and the sources of that power." These sources were pointed out to be the "Yeomanry." As "Yeomanry" regiment after "Yeomanry" regiment was enlisted, and embarked to Africa, the British press, together with its echoes, the plutocratic press of America, pointed with pride to the "spirit of heroism, latent in the British Yeomanry," and, "needing but to be roused in order to rush to the front" to retrieve all losses. With such a spirit alive in the ranks of the Yeomanry, "the old standby," "England was safe." And now comes General Colville and unwittingly punctures the whole bubble by betraying the fact that the much vaunted about "Yeomanry" is no "Yeomanry" at all, but a collection of city millionaire sons, who, the inference is plain, were made to feel safe on the score of their hides, and were to come off with military glory; the war was to be a fin-de-siècle sport for these capitalist cubs.

The old warning of Oliver Goldsmith is recalled by this fact. The source of English capitalist might has dried up. English, like all other capitalism, grows by devouring itself. Men have decayed while wealth increased. This could not but be so; the noise about the enlistments of the "Yeomanry" hid the fact. Now it is out.

General Colville's military counter-charges contain that which make them the most valuable of social statistics on England yet published.

## THE VILEST OF FULLERS-IN.

The employees of the Coal Trust, known as the Pittsburgh Coal Company, have been re-organized. We say "they have been re-organized," which means, that a new organization, not started by themselves, but by their employers, and pushed through by the Labor Lieutenants of these employers, has been started.

In the pay envelopes of these employees a prospectus is given out informing them that they, the employees, have formed the "Pittsburgh Coal Company Employees' Association." In the prospectus, which is neatly printed on first class pink paper, the employees inform themselves that they propose to avail themselves of the unparalleled opportunities to become rich; that one of such opportunities is to become investors in the preferred stock of the company; that they can do so by installment payments of not less than \$1 a month per share; and that dividends earned by such stock shall be added to the monthly payments of the subscribers.

After seeing to themselves, these prospective employee dividend-drawers considerably turn their attention to the protection of "their" company. The prospectus proceeds to provide several safeguards for the company, and thereby illustrates touchingly the fraternity of the relations that could, would, should and, in this case, do exist between Brother Labor and Brother Capital. These provisions are to the effect, first, that the company's treasurer shall have discretionary powers to accept or reject applications from those who fall behind in monthly payments; he may give them permission, or he may not, and then their previous installments shall fall to the share of their Brother Capital; and, secondly, that subscribers who leave the employ of the company shall not receive back the amount of their previous payments unless the funds appropriated for such re-imbursements warrant it: the company, of course, provides for these funds and decides upon their sufficiency. These are the leading features of the Association.

But, hold, there is still a feature, a characteristic one: the names of fifteen employees appear in fat type as the officers of this new organization. The fifteen are distributed into two sets: one

set consists of five, the other of ten employees, who, respectively, constitute the "Board of Directors" and the "Advisory Board"—both, of course, appointed by the company.

Between the lines peeps and blinks one of the vilest jobs yet put up against the workers, and launched with the aid of the Labor Lieutenants of Capital.

It is evident that the coal baron capitalists are getting tired of acting as collecting agents of dues, without pay, for the Labor Lieutenants, the Labor Fakirs. These capitalists now want to have some direct financial benefit. They are not satisfied with the dirty work their lieutenants perform by keeping the rank and file in tow of capitalism, in return for these collections of dues. The capitalists want more. As a result, we have "Pittsburgh Coal Company Employees' Association" STARTED WITH THE PAY ENVELOPES.

The eight pages taken up by the prospectus can be boiled into a few lines, a short manifesto to the employees, reading as follows:

"Henceforth you shall each contribute \$1 a month out of your wages to the company. Those who don't, shall get no work. Those who discontinue shall be treated likewise."

The "Pittsburgh Coal Company's Employees' Association" should be promptly given a charter by Gompers' Organized Scabbery; the Association even deserves an honorary membership among the devices to pluck the worker with the Labor Fakir as the necessary amanuensis.

## HOLDING UP THE NATION.

Every little while, and of late with increasing frequency, reportorial broadsides are fired upon the public giving accounts of "hold-ups." These incidents are usually placed in the Far West; occasionally a populous city like Chicago is the theatre of the high-handed act that tells the tale of organized rufianism assailing the safety of society. These incidents certainly are serious; and yet they are not a circumstance to another category of "hold-ups," which, though they assail the whole Nation, are passed over in silence by the plutocratic press. One "hold-up" of this category has just been fearfully revealed in Congress. Speaking on urgent measures needed for the safety of the Nation, Representative Payne said:

"For the past three years we have had no appropriation or expenditure for armor plate to be put on our naval vessels. SIMPLY BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAKE ANY TERMS WITH THE PEOPLE WHO MANUFACTURE ARMOR."

To appreciate the depth of national degradation implied in his statement, one must put himself in the shoes of the social system of which "the people who manufacture armor" are a limb, and the existing government is the upholder.

Here we have a Nation, run upon the theory that any one country is the natural foe of all the others, thriving as the others decline, and declining as the others thrive; here, accordingly, we have a Nation whose safety demands that its borders bristle with guns, and that the floating parts of its territory—its naval equipment—be proof against the guns of its "natural foes;" here we have such a Nation left with armor unrepaid; left exposed at the very time when foreign complications threaten—just because private concerns refuse to make terms! Here we have a sovereign Nation of over 75,000,000 held up by "the people who manufacture armor," and virtually told: "Stand and deliver!" and its government acquiescing in the indignity.

Hard were it to pick out of the many features of Capitalist Society any one feature and pronounce that the most infamous. The feature in point is as good as any. The Capitalist Class stands there convicted simultaneously of treason and hypocrisy; its vaunted patriotism stands exposed, its bragged-about honor is a thing to traffic on.

A Nation's safety, a Nation's honor, can never be safe in the hands of any one class. A Nation's safety, a Nation's honor, can be safe only when in the keeping of its whole people. Nor can that day come until the Capitalist Class has been dethroned, and the dome of the Socialist Republic has been reared.

## THEY ARE ONE.

George Steunenberg, brother of Bull-Pen Steunenberg, has been granted a lieutenant's commission by President McKinley, despite the fact that he thereby violates the solemn promise he made that all promotions should be due to seniority. Steunenberg is thus thrust ahead of sergeants and second lieutenants, as he was only a corporal.

Gov. Steunenberg thus reaps the reward of the Bull-Pen outrage, when he, a Populist, stood and defended the action of the President in sending troops to imprison in the most barbarous fashion, the striking miners of Idaho. McKinley thus acknowledges the value of the service rendered by Steunenberg. Both men meet upon a common ground, where both can shake hands, and that ground is the reeking place of the murdered members of the working class.

There is no law to McKinley, because there is none to his class. Such a thing

as his word of honor means nothing to him. He violated the law when he sent troops into Idaho. He violates his word of honor when he gives a commission as lieutenant to George Steunenberg. Yet in doing both these things he serves, in most effective fashion, the class for whose interests he works. That class is best served, not by obeying the law, but by using it. It serves their purpose, they break it. If it serves their purpose, they enforce it against others. But always, and under all circumstances, they regard the law as useful only when they can employ it to their own advantage.

It is evident from the recognition which George Steunenberg received that the Governor has now at his command unlimited power to obtain reward for his actions. He has demonstrated to the administration the oneness of his party and the Republican party, and he has also demonstrated the usefulness of his party in such events as the miners' strike.

The McKineys and the Steunbergs are one in their intentions. They are one in their point of view relative to the working class. They are one in their treatment of the working class. They are one in their willingness to be faithful servants of capitalism.

No wonder both were made honorary members by the Organized Scabbery that runs the pure and simple system of unionism.

The rapidity with which railroad consolidation is going on augurs well for the effectiveness of the anti-trust campaign which the Republican party has entered upon. In the union under one purse of all these lines we have the best indication of the line of work for the new century. It was worthy of the giant, but it is only the first fruits as more and greater things are to follow. In such a union strength is gained, economy is effected, and greater utility results. Those who protest against this condition of affairs have only the consolation of knowing that it is going to increase, and that, until the Socialist Labor Party takes all industries for the use of the whole people, consolidation in the hands of a few men will continue to eliminate the thousands of little fellows.

There is reason in everything, even in a Social Democrat. When the great Social Democratic party found that it did not exist in a very hefty condition, it at once proceeded to change its name, and now it has several. Out in Chicago where it has moved in a circle with most astonishing velocity, it became the "Socialist" party. The causes for its receiving this baptismal name are interesting. When the matter was up for discussion, Walter Thomas Mills arose and announced that his new book was nearly finished, and that the name "Socialist" party fitted in perfectly. If the delegates would not take the name for his, Walter Thomas Mills, sake, at least they should be merciful, and take it for the sake of his book. There was loud cheering. The plea was unanswerable, and the great Social Democratic party, for the sake of the book, changed its name again.

New Zealand, the "workingman's paradise," does not seem to be wholly a desirable place to live in. The ranting reformer, with less knowledge in his pate than falls to the average 10-year-old, draws a vivid picture of the joys and pleasures that may be derived from residence in New Zealand, and he advocates a similar state of affairs here. From reports, published in New Zealand, and not here, we learn that there is practically no demand at present for unskilled labor, and that the skilled trades are badly over-crowded. The result is friction between employers and employees. In such friction it is hardly usually the workingman who is most abraded. Wages are also low; provisions are costly; chances for obtaining work are few and far between; life is primitive; strikes are numerous. Wherein does New Zealand differ from the average capitalist country?

The smashups in London financial circles seem to be the prelude to a most melancholy song. It has been noticeable for some time that industrial conditions in England were "unsatisfactory." The smaller manufacturers were being crowded out, and some of the larger ones were finding the way beset with thorns. Only the extremely large and well-organized firms did not complain. They had bulk and ballast enough to weather the storm, and also to do a little privateering while it lasted. In the failures of Saturday the first grand wreck of many occurred. It will be followed by others, and most of them will be more important. The United States is bound up in the matter, and here also we have had a very good first crop. The second will come before the year is really well under way.

## Political and Economic.

Four new papers have "come out" for the Social Democratic party. Seven of those which developed the coming-out habit a few months ago are now having their pages printed on golden presses with ink made from crimson sunsets. They have entered the fathomless to be, and as they were well provisioned for the journey it is improbable that they will return. If we adopt the well-known Social Democratic way of reckoning, we find that this is a net gain of ten papers! We say that hurriedly, because in the meantime some more of them may have died, and that will be a net gain of a few others. At this rate it will not be long before every newspaper that falls a victim to taking last breaths will be an official organ of that party. Hurrah! Nothing can keep them back.

## A KANGAROO REVIVAL MEETING.

They were all meek and lowly followers of the Lamb. They were all Reverends, and they attempted to arrange themselves in the order of their importance; that is, each tried to be the head of the list, and to make his National Committee, for each had one of his own, the first and only one. That was the sole sign of coming together that they manifested, but it did not last long, and they seated themselves in a mystic circle, and waited for the appearance of the converts—three one-time ferocious atheists, who, in hair-shirts, were now doing penance on the naked boards in the hall way.

There were, in the mystic circle of Rev. friends, the Rev. Thomas Jones of Iowa, the Rev. Stitt Wilson of Chicago, the Rev. George Herron of Chicago, the Rev. Job Harriman of New Haven, the Rev. Father Grady of Kentucky, the Rev. Phineas Whittemore of Massachusetts, the Rev. B. Fay Mills of St. Louis, the Rev. Charles Vail of Jersey City, the Rev. Fred Strickland of Chicago, the Rev. F. O. Macaribuey of Rockland, the Rev. George E. Biglow of Pennsylvania, the Rev. William Thurston Brown of Rochester, the Rev. Herbert N. Casson of Lydia Commander, the Rev. Charles Casson of Canada, the Rev. Walter Thomas Mills of Chicago, the Rev. Simon A. M. Simons, "editor," of Chicago.

They were all there in the flesh, and in as much of it as a cold and indifferent world would allow them to acquire. A holy and peaceful calm reigned everywhere, and not a sound was heard excepting now and then a deep felt yearn for the working class. A spirit of brooding peace did stunts on the massive brows of all, and an inexperienced person might have thought they were thinking. Not so. They were there with a mission, and the Rev. Herron, as he arose to outline the plans for his Apostolic League of Original Converts, had the general air of a man. As he advanced towards the footlights he inadvertently stubbed his toe on his cap, but, nothing disconcerted, he gently folded it back into place again, and radiated forth. He held up his hand, and called for silence. The consciences of all the gentlemen present contributed it. Then suddenly the Rev. George had a psychological moment, and the edifice rang with applause. "Bring on the converts," he cried. "Let them speak and lift up their voices and bear testimony to that which is what. Let them say unto each and every extant thrill that echoes through the iron vistas of time, that in the vineyard they have labored, and much fruit has been productive thereof. For nine and nine and nine, and have been since that first Socialist so pronounced it, and the forests heard it and waved their lofty branches afar off. No more shall it be a burden. No more shall the night know their groans, for, behold, and eke behead, they have come to the fountain of everlasting purity, and all their stains shall henceforth be common property. For it is not yet written, though I intend to write it, and publish it in 12mo., price thirty cents, that as you render so shall the rendering find an acceptable market."

Then the three gentle converts, who had been called to see the light, were let in, and they came in bearing palms and singing halibut. One was a six-footer, with a head like a Bermuda potato and an Egyptian onion jammed into one; he looked fresh from assuring union-candle eggs; the second had a rhomboidal head with cock-sparrow eyes; he looked fresh from snap-shooting in piebald english; the third had a head like a sugar loaf, his back-head being sawed off; he was fresh naturally in everything but age and ideas.

The first of these three was an exemplary convert. His ruddy face was hidden in confusion and a most startling look of surprise. He was not accustomed to being converted, but he was determined to see it through. He stood before the crowd, and the voice of the Rev. Stitt Wilson rang out saying, "Brother Johann will now give his testimony."

The Brother, who answered to the name of Johann instinctively put his hand into his pocket, but he recalled himself in time, and commenced to speak in a well-modulated voice that had its origin in the heel of his left shoe:

"Id iss goot to be here yet. I feel that a great pudding is off my hart lifted. I am glad that I saw the lights, unt that I haf the loof in myself. Bräis per name of Chob Hurrahmann. Vunse I was a vicked mensch, but now, I am not dose ameh beoples."

"I vos derpy a glass-conscious Socialist, and I tell yut vos dose materialist conception von histories. But I am glad here to be, and I gif more bräises, and I say down mit all ministers! they iss all barasties!"

There was consternation in the faces of those present, but Johann stood smiling amiably at all, and nodding his head in approval of the speech he had just made. The third one of the converts, he of the sugar-loaf head, at this juncture rushed over and whispered in Johann's ear, and a look of disgust passed over the face of Johann. He again commenced to speak, and he said in a half-hearted way: "Hurrah vor all gürummench! They is petter to take vut out off the hants off ignorant vürkummench. Hurrah! Hurrah!" Then he sat down, and his eyes filled with tears.

The converts had been carefully assorted. Johann was a gentle in every inch of his six feet. The convert opposite him, he of the rhomboidal head, was Barney, whose tribe had not been lost. The convert of the sugar-loaf head, baptized "Alexander," balanced the affair by being half and half.

Barney arose. There were magnificent specimens of gargoyles fringing his arches, and dormer windows, and Gothic arches wandered up and down his rhomboidal cranium. His English was perfect Yid-

dish, and most of his utterances were pauses, with groans and sacred ejaculations in between. They had been taught to him by the Semi-Rev. Simons; and in his ten minutes he related his experience and told how sinful he was, and then he accidentally allowed them to find out how sinful he should like to be:

"Ve yet alretty haf. O yet shinnerts, to gum from that rebentunts stool vile mery is for all. I vunst said, 'There iss no S. D. P.' and now I suffer darvon. I lif mine hertz in glory to on high, vor I haf dose votters in me, and those efferlastinks vell-sprinks of mery. Ve hail to you alretty. I haf a great choy in my liffer dot I haf voun der vay to preditions. I am delifered. I am smutched von dose purnings. I am a prand mit great lof and rechoising. Bräise dose vot help themselves!"

He was an aspiring convert, and the Rev. Vail rushed forward and cried, "Pray, brother, pray. My strength is your strength, and I give it to you as it is taught. The time is ripe. Behold, this is the acceptable time. The hour has arrived. I am called. I shall begin my lecture tour at once." There was a commotion throughout the hall among the Reverends, and every man of them answered as one, "And I shall also commence MY lecture tour." They stopped and looked at one another in contemptuous surprise, and each told the other that it was rather small business to come into a party merely because a position as soul-saver among the breakers of the world was hard to find. Mr. Herron, who has just commenced to deliver his great series of lectures on the "Economics of Heaven," could afford to be magnanimous, and he restored silence, and allowed Brother Alexander to speak.

Brother-Alexander instinctively gathered up his penitent's hair-shirt, and tripped forward with a mincing and most ladylike gait. He smiled blandly. He was a universal plug, ready and anxious to be fitted into any situation. His great spirit throbbled to be used, and when he saw how he could best be used to his own advantage, he commenced in an humble way:

"Forgit me brutters, I haf been a zinners. I haf drankerezed ze lauz, and I haf been remizz ven I shuld be utterwise. My heart iss zore uned and sad. I zould not see here to-night, but I haf longer vor mit exe, sining longink of ze spirit. Ya! Ya! Yaya! I haf pen thus, zo iss id. Ya. Ya. Yaya. O vo vill haf harmonious. Ve vill dell dose vurd ant ve are unitted. Ve vill put vut voun lapel on ant unitted, und ve vill dey dem. Bray vor me, brutters, I need your brayers."

When they had finished, or rather done for, the song, one of the Reverends arose and offered prayer. It was all he had to offer, but when he finished he was willing to allow them present to offer something in the collection which was to be taken up. All the gentlemen in the mystic circle then seized their hats and started to pass them around. A dozen Reverends struggled to get the place in which Brother Johann sat, and the conflict of material interests resulted in mourning carefully placed around the optics of several of the men. The Rev. Job Harriman soon wore a Hamburger steak on his left ear, and the Rev. Mills trotted around with a correct imitation of a pork chop on his right nose. There were sundry bitter accusations, and some impertinent person asserted that the meeting was not very quiet. This however, was proved to be untrue, because Father Gray jumped on the Rev. Herbert Casson's wind, and left him speechless for over an hour. The Rev. Whittemore tightened the vocal cords of the Rev. Strickland by placing his delicate fingers around his neck and the Rev. Biglow tried to remove the esophagus of the Rev. Brown through his cervical vertebrae. Never were men closer together than during this time, and Brother Barney struggled heroically with Brother Alexander to keep him from hiding in the ice-box and to get in himself.

Brother Johann stood as one, or two at most, in a trance. Then he uttered a real live yell. Then he uttered another, and jumped diverse feet into the air. He at last reached the ground again, and reached out his hand. When he pulled it in again it contained the Rev. Charles Vail. The Rev. Charles gave birth to a piercing shriek, and said "Between Casson and Jesus." Johann was evidently the Casar, and he held his grip in most outrageous fashion. He waved the Rev. Charles thrice in the air, and then he hung him on a neighboring spigot. He removed him and tried to hang him on the ceiling. He would not stick, so Brother Johann used him to dust the furniture with, and all the time he uttered (for he was in a reminiscent mood), "Dake dose, und dese, dot vill make you rememper vot Bar Mureys did to me on the night of July 10." Then he carelessly threw the Rev. Charles through the open door, and the Rev. Charles Vail did not come back to resent it.

The others were exhausted with their uniting, and Brother Johann took off the hair-shirt in which he was doing penance and started in to enliven things a bit. The fact that he had been converted and lived, did not deter him from smiting the holy gentlemen who had entered Socialism as the shortest route to a living. He even assaulted them with a fist that looked like a prize Bermuda potato, and when he had finished there were several astonishing wrecks fleeing towards the door. He looked around with a grim smile and said:

"I haf been done; but I haf not left many of dose undone. I haf been converted; but I haf been the weapon of Sampson. I am the only great and original chaw-pone."

The curtain fell, and darkness settled on the earth. A crowd of disconsolate men whose garments were not wholly present stood on the sidewalk and sighed. At last one of them spoke up and said:

"Verily, brethren, before we convert these men we must at least remove their ability to strike." His words were received with a heartfelt "amen."

The "amen" had hardly died out, when on the still midnight air, there floated from a jolly group of New Year celebrants the refrain.

"O, Kangaroo, O, Kangaroo, We didn't do a thing to you!"



## Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan

BROTHER JONATHAN (Cocking rocky, and acting rocky).—Hiel!

UNCLE SAM—Been drunk again!

B. J. (straightening up).—No; not really. I don't call a man drunk when he has been merely celebrating.

U. S.—Is "celebrating" your lame name for "drinking"?

B. J.—No; I mean celebrating. You see, I have been celebrating the New Year, the New Century.

U. S.—No, I don't!

B. J.—Oh, yes, you do. I mean that I was feeling very happy to think that I was one of those privileged beings that lived to see the 20th Century after having helped to make the 19th Century the wonderful thing that is.

U. S.—I can't quite understand you.

B. J.—Will you deny that the inventions of the last century were wonderful?

U. S.—No!

B. J.—Were not marvels accomplished in engineering?

U. S.—They were!

B. J.—Were not great discoveries made of natural laws?

U. S.—Yes, indeed!

B. J.—I need go no further. Isn't that ground enough to be proud to say we were of that century?

U. S.—Do you imagine, do you hold to the belief, that "wonderful inventions" are just subjects for joy whether or not they benefit the human race?

B. J.—Yes, open.

U. S.—Don't you imagine, do you hold to the belief, that "wonderful inventions" are good things if the very men who make the inventions, and the very men who work at them get nothing from them, while idlers sponge up all the good there is in such wonders?

B. J.—No! But is that the case?

U. S.—There is a thing happening just now that may help you to answer your question.

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—Did you read about the great railroad deal or consolidation?

B. J.—I should think I did! \$300,000,000 and more on one side joins hands with \$300,000,000 and more on the other, and the two will make the most powerful combination of that sort, extending from the Atlantic across to Seattle, on the Pacific.

U. S.—Could that combination have anything to combine on, were it not the wonderful inventions of the last century, for the marvels accomplished in engineering, for the great discoveries made of natural laws?

B. J.—Course not.

U. S.—Now, who are the beneficiaries?

B. J.—Who?

U. S.—Yes. Are the inventors in possession of this gigantic railroad marvel?

B. J.—Can't say they are.

U. S.—Are the workmen, who operate this marvel and are slaughtered by the wholesale, in possession?

B. J.—Guess not, they are poor as getting poorer.

U. S.—Accordingly, all these prodigious have accrued to a few idlers who can invent anything except ways to defraud the workers. Is that a thing to celebrate?

B. J.—That does look funny. But what would you have us do? I thought of these inventions were good.

U. S.—And so they are!

B. J.—Oh! Then we may celebrate.

U. S.—It doesn't follow. There is only the potentiality of human happiness to celebrate. All these achievements of the past, great as they may seem, so small and incomplete. They cannot really be complete before that greatest of all achievements, the establishment of the Socialist Republic. Not until then will inventions benefit the inventors and workers; not until then will they benefit the human race. So long as that is done, these great achievements in the natural sciences are scourges on the human race.

B. J.—Scourges!

U. S.—Yes, scourges. What does war in the Philippines, devastating us to us and the Filipinos, mean? What does the bloody war in the Transvaal mean? What means this threatening inter-continental war, but that the great inventions, not being utilized by the Socialist system of society, are proving the natural result of their being in the prey of private individuals?

B. J.—Hem!

U. S.—Jonathan, you were promising in your celebration



## CORRESPONDENCE.

(Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communications. Besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.)

## Corroborative Testimony.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—In the DAILY PEOPLE of December 22, Comrade Jas. A. McConnell takes a position that is absolutely correct. In fact, it is the only position that can be taken. I have had some experience in rebutting the stand taken by persons along sentimental lines, and I have suffered from the effect of such sentimental trances, and hence I know how hard it is to break away from them. That such a condition of mind does place a serious obstacle in the path of the propagandist is without saying. In the absence of any knowledge of what can be considered sound reading, and, having the unequivocal mark of endorsement by the S. L. P., we will continue to be harassed and embarrassed until the ball is taken by the horns, metaphorically, by the S. L. P. and the question of merit and sponsorship is settled as far as literature from our point of view is concerned. With a select list of material which I choose to leave to the judgment of the S. L. P., we will be in a position to repudiate any and all Socialist abortions now inflicting themselves upon the long-suffering UN-CLASS CONSCIOUS workers.

A. O. WARRINGTON,  
Organizer Section San Joaquin County,  
L. P.  
Stockton, Cal., Dec. 28.

## We Shall Certainly Help You Not to Be Gagged.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—New Hampshire Socialists (the means Social Democrats) pay no dues to Springfield, Chicago or any other N. E. B. Other Socialist (the means Social Democrats) papers are suppressing New Hampshire news.

GEO. HOWIE,  
Manchester, N. H., Dec. 31.

## On Goes the Rev. Vail.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—The Rev. Charles H. Vail, pastor of the First Universalist Church, Summit Avenue, and in place, resigned as pastor at the morning service yesterday.

Mr. Vail informed the congregation that he had secured another position, but he did not tell them what it was, or the pay.

It is said that he will now devote his time and energies to advancing the cause of "Socialism." Mr. Vail has been pastor of the First Universalist church for nearly seven years. The congregation is a small one, and is composed mainly of middle class people, who are notoriously poor church supporters. Some time ago Mr. Vail found that it had become absolutely necessary to increase his income, his meagre salary not being sufficient to meet his wants. The Lord accordingly revealed to him a new field to exploit, and he at once responded to the "call" by writing certain books on "Economics" and "Socialism" (?) These books are remarkable chiefly for the lack of knowledge of the subject treated. He either ignores or is entirely ignorant of the basic principles of Socialism. The class struggle in his books is surveyed and subordinated to the "Intellectual" and middle class "Socialism." In a recent interview he said:

"The unfavorable atmosphere for art and literature, produced by competitive society, is the explanation of the growing sentiment of Socialism among the intelligent classes. Both art and literature demand a suitable social environment. The widening gulf between the classes is fatal to these accomplishments. What is needed is more leisure and comfort for the masses and a higher public life, such as will furnish an atmosphere in which they can thrive. Socialism will furnish the suitable condition."

Tried by the touchstone of the class struggle his work is absolutely worthless to the proletarian movement. Judged by the light of breakers into which the Socialist movement has been thrown in France by just such "Socialism," as shown by Guesde's great speech recently published by you, the Rev. Vail's productions are positively pernicious.

These books are, of course, extensively boomed by the freak papers. He then offered his services as a lecturer on "Socialism," but stipulated that his lectures should be "given away from home." He evidently did not wish his churchly right hand to know what his "Socialist" left hand was doing.

The S. L. P. informed him that he must be the possessor of a sound knowledge of Socialism before he could speak under its auspices. Such "tyranny" disgusted him, and also opened his eyes to the futility of trying to work that field. Then he went to the atheistic "Genossein" the "Volkszeitung" crowd, and was received with open arms.

He made a tour of the East in behalf of the S. L. P. ticket, and was received by "tremendous audiences everywhere." Mr. Vail's services as a minister, who will conduct the services at the Universalist church until such time as a successor to her husband is selected.

R. H. K.

Jersey City, N. J., Dec. 31.

## They Are Getting Tired of It.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—I am not surprised over the 60,000 representing the Organized Scabbard of Philadelphia endorsing the Debs Democracy, and receiving over 1,000 votes. We have the muscle out here in Greenpoint like-

The all-around fakirs in the branch of D. & B. made a big cry that the "Volkszeitung" was a "Socialist" and a delegate to its conference. This was panned, and a motion was made to the members five cents a month. Comrade H. Weiss denounced the "Volkszeitung" with its charlatanism. Thereupon the "borders from within" showed their professional tolerance by hisses and "trains mit him." "Er sprich noch!" "Woe ought to kick the Debs out!" etc., etc.

In spite of all this the opinion of the members was almost unanimous that the "Volkszeitung" will, for the future, have to look to other quarters for the high sales of its board of editorial crickets. Out of 500 members less than 20 voted that the duty of Kangaroo is to support that paper.

Leadership is a dead duck.

PROLETARIAN.

Greenpoint, N. Y., Dec. 30.

## They and We.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—Last evening some of the Pittsburgh comrades of the Allegheny County, S. L. P., engaged in a man-hunt. We hunted high and low for one Peter Curran who had

been advertised through the Kangaroo "People," better known as "The Bogus" to orate in Pittsburgh. Notwithstanding the fact that we hunted collectively and individually, our keenest collective and individual could not discover the faintest trail of the "fraternal" delegate to the late stereotyped congress of the A. F. of L. We therefore came to the conclusion that if Mr. Curran did show up in Pittsburgh, he was shown down into some subterranean chamber, safe from the basilisk gaze and "scorpion tongues" of S. L. P. savages, who have no more circumspection or good manners than to kick the arm and hammer on every fakir's head.

Six years ago John Burns of London came to Pittsburgh and laded out to us "slathers" of nonsense in the form of utopian socialism, populism and pure and simple trades unionism. His visit to this city was heralded broadcast, the newspapers were full of it, and a large audience assembled in a large hall to witness the "fraternal" delegate. This was the time when the trade unions of this city had some life in them, but the time has departed. To-day the "fraternal" unions of Pittsburgh have, through the machinations of labor fakirs, sunk to that level of despair that sees no hope, no awakening. The "United Labor League" could transform its name to "United Undertakers League" without violating any trade-mark. Therefore, when a foreign star comes "aboard" towards Pittsburgh he is shunted towards some other firmament.

Having seen Curran's itinerary published in a stray copy of the Kangaroo "People," and a syllabus of his Chicago speech published in a morning daily paper, our barbarian appetites were whetted for "a feast of reason and a flow of soundness" but we were shamefully disappointed.

Last September the local Kangaroos held a quiet little love feast in a secluded hall in Allegheny, before which one Jay Marjale Barnes, with F. M. Gessner as a bas-relief, was to agitate the atmosphere. A few of our comrades went down and transformed the peaceful scene into a Kangaroo Accademia. Nothing daunted, the Kangaroos tried it again, they announced a meeting for Old City Hall prior to the election, with the Rev. Job as the graphophone. The scenes that transpired at this meeting elope the descriptive power of my pen. Job wasn't there; but Herdrick, Gessner and Malra were there. The arm and hammer was there; the buzz-saw was there. It was in Pittsburgh on December 20th.

In contradistinction to this guilty cowardice, the agitation committee of Section Allegheny County has made arrangements for Comrade De Leon to address three mass meetings in Pittsburgh and Allegheny, viz.: in Odd Fellows Hall, South Side, on Friday evening, February 8th; Carnegie Hall, Allegheny, Feb. 9th; and the B'nai B'rith, Sixth street, Pittsburgh, on Feb. 10th, at 8 p. m. To each and all of these meetings the opponents to the straight-forward legitimate tactics of the S. L. P. are cordially invited. There's a chip on the shoulder for those who have been howling "Pope" and "Boss." Several freaks who have at different times in our meetings expressed themselves as suffering from a consuming desire to dance a double-shuffle on the sub-maxillary gland of comrade De Leon will have that desire gratified, metaphorically speaking, if they toe the scratch on any of the dates named. So, with the compliments of the season to all comrades, with the gates of OUR country standing ajar, the season is an appropriate one for raising our voices three times over for the Social Revolution, and the Socialist Republic.

JOHN R. ROOT,  
Pittsburg, Pa., Jan. 1.

## The S. L. P. Pulse Beats High.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—While the old year was drawing to a close, the aggressive Socialists of Hudson County gathered at the Club-rooms to welcome the XXth Century, reviewing the work of the past, and determined to carry on the war with greater vehemence throughout the coming year.

The Buzz Saw was given full swing. The opening of the fearless fight of the proletarian in 1901 was hailed with cheers.

Sympathizers of the Party brought music, and the opening of the New Year was greeted with revolutionary tunes.

The film-dram colored lights of capitalism did not draw with the S. L. P., but we laughed at the hollow mockery.

We had no capitalism papers to indicate our stance, the "Observer," the dupes official organ of the "Observer," the dupes official organ of the "Observer."

Strong propaganda was outlined for 1901. Pledges of solidarity were renewed at parting, and cheers were given for the S. T. & L. A., not forgetting the Socialist Republic.

FRANK CAMPBELL,  
Jersey City, N. J., Dec. 31.

## A Correction.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—Please to correct in our official organ, the DAILY PEOPLE, the amount contributed by Comrade N. Van Kerckvoorde, of Sioux, N. Y. It is one dollar and of the subsequent dollars, as published. It was my error.

JAMES F. DAILY,  
121 Merrimac St., Haverhill, Mass., Dec. 31.

## Sic Semper, Etc.

To the Daily People:—Among the several S. L. P. papers owned not by the Party, but by individual members, that saw fit to side with the Kangaroos, was one printed in the Danish language called "Arbejderen" (The Worker), in Chicago. John Glambek, its editor, gave as the reason for its bolting its poor financial condition. To save it from bankruptcy the Kangaroo shareholders living in Chicago decided to take the "Arbejderen" stand of handing it over to the enemy, and it forthwith started to work for Debs and his prospective one million votes. But its treachery did not help it any; it died shortly after.

Looking through some older numbers of said paper, I ran across the following editorial in the issue of June 10, 1898, which, in the light of the subsequent kangarooing and joining the Debs party by its writer and co-workers, should earn for them the title of "champion crow-eaters." It says:

"When the Debs Social Democracy was organized, we took a decided stand against it, and regarded it as a sheer humbug, especially the colonization scheme. We held forth that if Debs and his followers really were Socialists, and were in earnest, then their place was in the already organized and at the International Labor Congress recognized Socialist Labor Party. We held forth that a congregation of all conceivable kinds of 'fraternal' and 'wide different' interests and understandings, never could agree and solve the great problem: the emancipation of the working class. In such a party there has to be discipline,

and logical tactics must be employed."

"Our advice to the workers is to keep their fingers away from the new humbug, was, however, received with ill-will. It was said that the Debs party was the only right thing; the party that was characteristically American. Our party, the Socialist Labor Party, was branded with scorn and denounced as foreign Socialism."

"All other states and dissatisfied elements who would not submit to the discipline of our party flocked over to Debs, together with anarchists, Single Taxers, and others. The party grew with a violent speed; branches were formed in almost every state and city; and America was on the verge of turning Socialist in a jiffy, while our party, with its slow but sure growth, was threatened with being eclipsed by the new party."

"We did not, however, lose our heads, but let the new Socialists make their noise. We knew that it would soon come to a sad end; few Socialists are not made by the whole sale, and they do not follow the chosen leaders."

"And now comes the first break in the machinery. Last week the party's first convention, of which so much was expected, was held in Chicago. At the convention uproarious scenes took place; some of the leaders were openly accused of fraud. Debs had had his eyes opened to the idiosyncrasy of the colonization scheme, while others insisted on following it up. Then the party split. Debs, followed by one-half of the delegates, bolted, and now they have organized a new party, the 'Social Democratic Party of America.'"

"Now we will see what this new party will do, and how long it will last. In the meanwhile, all class-conscious workers will understand that their place is in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and not in side shows."

The above is just a fair sample of what the "Arbejderen" had to say about the Debs movement up to the very day it jumped into that movement. When it talked that language it lived; when it turned traitor, it died.

Red Wing, Minn., Jan. 1, 1900.

## A Proposition.

Your Letter Box answer to "J. Y. Y. Lowell, Mass." in the Daily of the 23d leads me to suggest that, all questions pertaining to our class struggle be answered and scientifically answered, with a view of publishing same in book form. When the N. E. C. can undertake the expense, I will pledge myself to take \$2 worth of the publication.

E. M. DAWES,  
Montrose, Col., Dec. 31, 1900.

## As to the Springfield Proposition.

To the Daily People:—The other day a letter from Comrade Noonan of Springfield, Mass., appeared in the DAILY PEOPLE, suggesting the idea of taking the territory within a hundred-mile radius of Springfield as a basis for raising the necessary means to keep a permanent organizer in the field for said territory. This thought struck me at first as splendid to carry into effect the suggestion of our N. E. C. in its last circular concerning the necessity for permanent organizers. But the more I thought it over the less I liked Comrade Noonan's circuit. The fact that the de-caying Kangaroo corpse stinks there to heaven cannot make us gravitate around the Kangaroo capital, nor does the fact that Section Springfield has done excellent work in last year's campaign make it fit to be the centre of an unnatural circle for non-uniformity.

While acknowledging its geometrical beauty I see too many geographical and practical defects. It excludes Boston and Providence, and takes in a mountainous part of New York State, it leaves Stamford out in the cold and forces the ocean to surrender part of its territory in order to complete the Springfield-circle, etc.

Furthermore, while speaking of an organization for the above-mentioned purpose, the question strikes in my mind: Why can't we avail ourselves of the existing State Committees? Have they proved themselves to be ineffective? I most sincerely believe that all comrades in the New England States are fully satisfied with their respective State committees. As the pecuniary means of the State Committees are limited and utterly inadequate to the task confronting us, they, perhaps, did not show the usual energy in dealing with this question of permanent organizers. But the fault lies with the Sections. If the Sections furnish the necessary cash, our State Committees will show unusual activity.

Right here let me make a suggestion to you, comrades of New England, and that is to take the same course as Section Hartford took in this matter. The Section ordered its organizer to communicate with the State Committee and let them know that Section Hartford was willing and able to pay \$5 every month no matter how large his territory may be as long as Hartford county was included.

If every section in the New England States also likewise, the State Committees will be able to make arrangements to that extent and we can have one or more of our tried comrades go around as permanent organizers and promote our cause through the New England States. And this can be done in the shortest possible time.

We have been put to a severe test and a heavy strain in this last campaign. We stood it. Are you going to lie down now, comrades? Can you afford to leave the arm and hammer in its threatened position without using it? If you do, your arm will get lame instead of strong and stronger every day. Therefore I call on you: Let the hammer come down with redoubled force, and permanent organizers mean permanent hammerblows against this rotten capitalist system of production and distribution. Be up and doing! This is the time to make history, the history of the revolutionary movement of the American proletariat.

M. L.

Hartford, Ct., Jan. 3.

## A Kangaroo Convention in Mosquito Land; or Pre-lude, Interlude and Epilogue to the Nomination of the Rev. Vail.

To the Daily People:—The Kangaroos assembled from near and far:

The leaders were blowing them all at the bar.

It was noon, or thereabouts, when the last Kang was induced to leave the bar (by the promise of a keg inside) to attend the first convention that was to nominate the first candidate of "der dwendled century." Genosse Giovanni Philippi, late of Elizabeth, now of God knows where, borrowed a beer mallet at the bar, and after a half hour's rapping managed to get the lovers of harmony to order. Genosse Sappel announced that before going on some further mit der plinies of der convention der socialistic Liedertafel would somethings sing-

en, which was unanimously permitted.

After spending half an hour or so of the convention's time in wetting their whistles, tuning up, shouting "Alleluia," "pist," "rubin," etc., the Liedertafel began, to the air of the Marschall, a new song. I shall give it literally in German with the translation, so that our friends may know what's up. Here is the song:

"Volkszeitung's leser!  
"Schleusst die reiben!  
"Euch ein grosses werck vertraut—  
"Jed' gilt die partei zu zerstreuen—  
"Die ihr so muhsam aufgetaut—  
"Readers of the 'Volkszeitung'!  
"Close up the ranks!  
"You with a great work art-entrust—  
"They want to destroy your party—  
"Which you have so painfully built up—  
"Here the applause led by a 'Volkszeitung' reporter was great."

After quiet had been restored they sang the second verse, and then Genosse Sappel again got the floor. This time he said:

"Genossen: ash you all know ter crate success which we haf bat at der last collection was because we was united together. We would haf bat some more success if we some more united was. Shoost now when I was outside ant trink some beer I meed my freht, who is a koot fren of der bardy. I am sure of it he wotes our dicker because I haf seen him reat der 'Volkszeitung' once alretty—ant if noperty somedings against it has I would like dot Genosse Nitram make a speech—"

A voice in the rear: "He vos an Anarchist."

GENOSSE SEPPEL—Vell, vot of dot?

THE SAME VOICE—"Not mit der Anarchist! dat is der gondsidushun against!"

GENOSSE SEPPEL—"Pedween genossen ve don'd gare for a gondsidushun anyvay?"

THE VOICE—"If ve don'd gare for a gondsidushun for vhy ve haf von, hey?"

GENOSSE SEPPEL—"You schbeaken like von tam teleonide!"

THE VOICE—"Und you like a tam Rosenbergher!"

GENOSSE SEPPEL—"You are a tam liar!"

THE VOICE—"You red shuft, bay your tehts, vat you owe!"

Biff-biff—they were at it, hammer and tongs. The circus had begun. Leader Janus Annanias Craft, who loves leadership as dearly as he loves harmony, grabbed his shining plug hat, dodged under tables, over benches and chairs, sneaked around the struggling, kicking, scratching, biting, spitting, sputtering, swearing mass of harmonious genossen (who never use the word "fakir"), finally reached the door, and ran down the street so fast that you could have played pinocchio on his extended coat-tails. He displayed well the quality for that leadership that he bankers so much after.

At this juncture a guardian of the peace connected with the establishment entered, and peace once more reigned in the house of Moses. Why the "House of Moses?" "Let every Kangaroo be the Moses of the new century," was a passage in the gubernatorial candidate's speech. I asked the blue-coat why he did not interfere sooner. The answer was: "Oh, that's nothing; this is only one of the regular harmony meetings; they hold them regularly, ever since they have united." (This is no joke.)

"But what made that distinguished looking gentleman run away?"

"That was Mr. Craft. He's afraid to take sides for fear of offending some one, so he always runs away. You see, a couple of years ago he became convinced that certain offices should be lifted above the muck of every-day politics and given to the respectable class—the property-owning bourgeoisie to which he belongs—

—he aspired to the office of School Commissioner; not that he knew anything of the wants of either teachers or pupils, but that his 'pre-eminent respectability' might by this means become known. Failing in this he joined the Socialist Labor Party, expecting that the genius which the politicians of the old school of politics failed to discover in him would be come easily manifest to those whom he considers ignorant workmen. There his characteristics stood him in good stead during the time when the 'borders from within' were trying to disrupt the party. He was on both sides of the fence at once, and probably would be so yet if he had not attended a certain meeting where he was forced to take sides. He took the outside, and now you see him here among the other freaks."

A freak named Jones was announced as the choice of the "nonvanshun" as chairman. He appointed the usual committees, and declared a recess of an hour, probably to repair brushed reputations and plaster bruised limbs.

After recess, during a harmonious discussion as to whether to recognize the Chicago or the Springfield National Executive, or both, no blood was spilt. Some genius with an eye to a free railroad excursion moved that all hands attend the Chicago convention.

At this stage of the proceedings, it occurred to me that, in view of the "harmony" that would be displayed in Chicago if these gentlemen carried out their threat of going there, the very next thing for the Convention to do would be to appoint a committee to wait upon the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party and borrow the trophies of July 10—the clubs, hammers and other implements of warfare that the De Leonties took from the "Volkszeitung revolutionists" when these gentlemen were disarmed and kicked downstairs on the night of July 10, 1899. But the Convention did not do that. It probably feared that those weapons would be taken away from them in Chicago too.

The next order of business was the nomination for Governor for the State of New Jersey.

A VOICE—"I nominate Carl Pan-kopf."

"I decline."

ANOTHER VOICE—"I nominate the Reverend Charles H. Vail."

A VOICE—"Let das nicht sin Pfaff!" (Isn't he a parson?)

ANOTHER VOICE—"He is a priest!"

A THIRD VOICE—"Nein, he is a minister."

THE CHAIR—"He has resigned his pulpit to carry on our great cause."

A VOICE—"Aber he peliefs in a God."

JANUS ANNANIAS CRAFT—"May I have the floor for a minute?"

THE CHAIR—"I have no objections."

CRAFT—"What I want to say is this: the comrades don't know anything about American politics, so I will teach them. I will admit that Mr. Vail is or has been a minister; but I hold that he never was orthodox and is not now orthodox in anything. I am an atheist! do you suppose that I am going to jeopardize the success of the cause by proclaiming myself a Christian? No! Among Christians I am a Jew; among Jews I am of the free masonry of Abraham. Anything to catch votes is my motto, and anyone who has any other principles is not fit to be a member of this—the first party in the field in the new century." (Loud applause and tumult. Cries of "is dis consequence?" (consistency); "traus mit ihm," and calls for "Fall," "speech."

After a short sermon by the reverend genosse, and a long draught on the brewery, the "first (may it be the last) gonvanshun of der new, abentheure united" closed with tumultuous cheers.

UBIQUITOUS.

Union Hill, N. J., Jan. 2.

## More Full Dinner Pail.

To the Daily People.—McKinley prosperity has come to the Glove City in a peculiar way.

After working for the last four months from six to eight hours a day, comes a cut in wages. Schedules have been put up in the shops which contain a cut of 10 to 25 per cent. for all the glove-makers.

It is also reported that the blockcutters will be presented with a 10 to 20 per cent. cut. Also the American table cutters have been cut in some shops, and it is murmured that they will receive a cut all along the line.

Further, there are the International Table Cutters, who have for the present nothing to fear for the manufacturers have signed their schedule for the ensuing year, but will they keep their promise?

One S. Littauer, the biggest manufacturer in Gloversville is three times elected to Congress on the Republican ticket by an overwhelming majority. The same Mr. Littauer is the man who three years ago said to the men who elected him, when they were on strike for better wages: "This is not a matter of principle; this is a matter of dollars and cents."

The S. T. & L. A. will have to be organized here.

Gloversville, N. Y., Jan. 4.

## Left in the Lurch in Erie Too.

To the DAILY PEOPLE.—I wish to give an account of the public meeting held here in Erie, December 31, 1900, by the "Public Ownership," "Social Democratic," "United Socialist," "Socialist Party," or the Polynomial for short.

This fake party held two meetings here on the 30th and 31st day of December, at which Mr. Pete Curran, the "representative of thousands of workmen from England," was used to make the speeches. I myself witnessed the meeting on the 31st, and must say it was very instructive to me.

Mr. Curran began his speech by saying: "There is no necessity of my covering the same ground as I have spoken on yesterday, seeing the same faces before me." The audience reached the number of about sixty. So he went on and took up the different reform parties of his and this country, saying that they were of no use to present society, which was well enough. But when he came to talk of Trades Unionism, he killed all he said before. His main argument was that the workers should organize in Trades Unions. He claimed that if they ever mechanic belonged to his Trade Union, their condition would be far better, because they could then demand what they wanted. Yes, that would be well enough if there were not so many outside of the shop, or in, who would be even willing to organize if there was work for them. But there is the stalker. Can these men organize after being out of employment half of the time and pay the sky-high dues, strike taxes, and so many different taxes to uphold the Labor Fakir who does not allow politics in the Union; while it is hard for the man inside to keep up his dues, and he is suspended for non-payment? Consequently pure and simple Trades Unionism is a failure for the workmen.

Then Mr. Curran spoke about the Trades Union in England, saying that every man almost is a Socialist. According to this statement, their Unionism differs from pure and simple Unionism in this country.

Finally, he closed his speech by advising every Trades Unionist to agitate for Socialism in his Union.

Then one of our comrades told him that that was near an impossibility; saying that he belonged to a Union and tried to agitate, but that every time the hammer in the president's hand would drop with the words: "No politics in the Union!"

Then the question was asked: Which is best for the workmen, pure and simple or S. T. & L. A. Unionism? The speaker said: "I do not know very much about the S. T. & L. A., but after Mr. Daniel De Leon signed his name to an agreement with Davis to furnish scabs in his shop while a strike was on there (!!!) I do not think very much about such a Union, and I have been in Paris to the International Congress. I have seen how De Leon's delegate tried to keep Socialists out of the Congress."

The speaker, Mr. Curran was told that his statements about De Leon were not true.

Mr. C. Heydrick then took the floor, saying: "Mr. Daniel De Leon is one of the ablest writers and editors in the United States; cannot say if honest or dishonest." His speech was short, the best he knew how, and he closed saying that Socialism was now talked very much in pure and simple Unions, and that it would be only a short time when nothing else would be talked about but Socialism. Mr. Heydrick will live a long time if that is what he expects. He then claimed that the rank and file of the Socialist parties in the United States would be together before another year passed, and we will be all one. Here is where he is all off. The Socialist Labor Party will be very careful when it admits

into its ranks. The S. L. P. is not after a freakish sentimental vote. Mr. Heydrick evidently is incapable of learning from experience. Even Haverhill has taught him nothing. Neither does Mr. Heydrick learn anything from the conduct of the pure and simple. The expected thousands of pure and simple failed to materialize. In the meantime Mr. Heydrick is slandering the S. T. & L. A., and calling it a "scab organization." He is fakir for the pure and simple whom he don't catch, and he is insulting the bona fide workmen, who won't forget it.

There are about two or three thousand pure and simple here in Erie. These meetings were held in the Central Labor Union Hall, were extensively advertised, and the element played for by lying and slandering stayed away.

SOCIALIST.

## LETTER BOX.

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

E. Y. SAGINAW, MICH.—That is not enough. A knowledge of Socialism is not enough to entitle a man to the Socialist's confidence as a Socialist. Look at the man with a square in his eyes, and you will be perfect. He sees things clearly. But does he follow them? He looks one way, and goes the other. A man may have a full knowledge of Socialism and yet not follow that knowledge.

J. F. G. ST. LOUIS, MO.—The best use to make of such productions is to emblazon them in a separate scrap-book entitled: "Capitalist Thought (?)". Fain would we be candid and tell you our opinion as to whether such writers and writers are "fools, knaves or idiots." They may be any of these, and yet the real foot of which they limp may be none of these, but this other to wit, as to whether they are the best of the best, or the worst of the worst. There is a class of people who know nothing except dictation, and who do not understand that words are but like the sound of the bell. Be the case, the possible, unless there is a steak in the pan, the fire will only have crackling noise for its result.

J. S. H. WINONA, MINN.—It is quite an interesting study of the kinks that the



## OFFICIAL.

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**  
Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Read Street, New York.

**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA**  
F. J. Darch, Secretary, 110 Dundas Street, Market Square, London, Ontario.

**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.**  
2-6 New Read Street. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office, Tuesday, 10 p. m.

**National Executive Committee.**  
The regular meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party was held at the Daily People Building Saturday evening, Jan. 5, Sauter in the chair.

Receipts for the week ending December 29, \$107.39; expenditures, \$73.86.

Receipts for the week ending January 5, \$49.32; expenditures, \$90.90.

A set of by-laws were received for the State Organization of Pennsylvania. Kuhn and Pierce elected a committee to examine same.

Section Reading, Pa., requests extension of jurisdiction and applies for a new charter including Berks County. Granted.

Section Taunton, Mass., expels C. J. Delamaine for publishing a document not acceptable to the Section and carrying on controversy in the capitalist press.

Section Baltimore expels James Franklin for spending the Section's money and refusing to repay it.

Hartford applies for new charter for amalgamated section. Granted.

Routine reports were received from National Organizers Pepin and Dalton.

Pepin has been at work in Roanoke, Edwards, Florida, Kankakee, and Bloomington, Illinois. Dalton has been at work in Buffalo, Lockport, and other nearby cities.

**JULIAN PIERCE,**  
Recording Secretary.

**Election of Officers.**

Section Troy.—Organizer, Norman S. Burnham; recording and corresponding secretary, Timothy A. Devane; financial secretary, Patrick E. De Lee; treasurer, Herman Hatman; literary agent and agent for the PEOPLE, L. A. Boland.

Section Reading.—Organizer, Caleb Harrison; recording secretary, John Hess; financial secretary, Harry Bellman; literary agent, agent for the PEOPLE and treasurer, Silas Hinkel.

Section Haverhill.—Organizer, Ernest C. Peabody; corresponding secretary, Moses W. Snyder; financial secretary, Michael Leavitt; treasurer, James F. Dalley; literary agent, Carney W. Doyle; grievance committee, Carney W. Doyle; Michael Leavitt, John H. Clobbery; auditing committee, Carney W. Doyle, Moses W. Snyder, Burton C. Woodbury; Daily People Committee, Carney W. Doyle, Moses W. Snyder, John H. Clobbery.

Section Wick Haven, Pa.—Organizer, H. B. Stammer; recording and corresponding secretary, Wm. A. Horton; financial secretary, Chas. Backstrom; treasurer, Hugh Friel; literary agent, James Dunn; grievance committee, James Dunn, Chas. Backstrom, H. B. Stammer.

Section Baltimore.—Organizer, Robert W. Stevens; financial secretary, Charles Heine; treasurer, Henry Simon; recording secretary, Frank Hartman; auditors, Charles Becker, F. Wuest; grievance committee, Charles Becker, F. Wuest, Robert W. Stevens; agent for Arbeiter-Zeitung, Henry Simon; agent for PEOPLE, Robert W. Stevens; literary agent, Robert W. Stevens.

CANTON, O., Jan. 6.—At a meeting held by Section Canton, Ohio, S. L. P., the following officers were elected for the ensuing term:

Organizer—John H. T. Juergens.

Recording Secretary—Wm. S. Poorman.

Financial Secretary—John H. T. Juergens.

Treasurer—Alois A. Treibal.

Auditing Committee—A. Vitak and J. Calvin Dager.

Grievance Committee—Jacob Ney, Jr., Henry O. Bucklin and Theo. Goerke.

Agent for the PEOPLE—John H. T. Juergens, 1106 High Street.

Two new members were admitted and prospects are good for a substantial increase in our membership in the very near future.

It was decided to hold a caucus on Sunday, January 13, at 2 p. m. for the purpose of nominating candidates for the spring election. The caucus will be held at 115 N. Piedmont Street, where the section meets every second and fourth Sunday of each month.

Readers of the PEOPLE in and about Canton are invited to attend these meetings, and if they are in accord with the uncompromising tactics of the fighting S. L. P., are urged to join hands with us by becoming members of our section, and aiding us in carrying on the work in a more systematic manner than heretofore.

**J. H. T. JUERGENS, Organizer.**

Nominations made by the Socialist Labor Party, Allegheny, Pa., for the ensuing February election.

**FIRST WARD—Common Council—W. F. Seaneberg and N. J. White.**

**SECOND WARD—Select Council—Hayden Morgan.**

**Common Council—Wm. McCandless and W. E. Gallagher.**

**THIRD WARD—Select Council—John Curry.**

**Common Council—Easo Schwartz and H. A. J. Brown.**

**FOURTH WARD—Common Council—W. I. Marshall.**

**FIFTH WARD—Select Council—Gust. Gneiser.**

**Common Council—Jas. Preece, Geo. A. Brown and Henry C. Boenish.**

**SIXTH WARD—Judge of Election—R. W. Evans.**

**SEVENTH WARD—Common Council—John Zellheg.**

**TENTH WARD—Common Council—J. C. Daily.**

**TWELFTH WARD—Common Council—Frank Schleuter.**

**THIRTEENTH WARD—Select Council—Edward Fornof.**

**Common Council—Wm. J. Ebelle and Anton Feinich.**

**War Assessor—Benjamin Sheets.**

**FIRST DISTRICT—Judge of Election—John Pickert.**

**Inspector of Election—Edward Silbach.**

**THIRD DISTRICT—Inspector of Election—Jacob Stump.**

**FOURTH DISTRICT—Judge of Election—Albert Jindra.**

**Inspector of Election—Anton Skotak.**

**FOURTEENTH WARD—Common Council—Selig Schulberg.**

**School Directors—Otto Mahner and Wm. Weaver.**

**RESERVE TOWNSHIP—Road Commissioner—Lorenz Helfrich.**

**School Directors—Max Schehl and John Jacobs.**

## Section Woburn, Mass.

Section Woburn, Wash. S. L. P., has elected the following officers:

Organizer, James L. McDermott, 11 Grove Street; secretary, William H. O'Brien, 144 Montvale Avenue; financial secretary and treasurer, J. V. Schugel, 124 Montvale Avenue; N. E. Fugstad, PEOPLE agent, N. Peter Neilson, 35 Garfield Avenue.

**JOSEPH V. SCHUGEL.**

## Election of Officers by Section Cambridge.

Section Cambridge, Mass., reports the election of the following officers:

Organizer, Ducharme; financial secretary and treasurer, Ryan; corresponding secretary, Chester; auditing committee, Ducharme, Alfred Fugstad, Nils F. Fugstad; grievance committee, Ryan, Chester, Alfred Fugstad, Nils F. Fugstad, Steidel.

**Hartford, Conn.**

L. A. 307, S. T. and L. A.—A general meeting of the above named organization will be held Thursday, January 10, 8 p. m., at S. L. P. hall. Every member should be present as business of importance will be transacted.

**FRED FELLERMAN, Sec.**

## Woodworkers Attention.

Woodworkers' Progressive Union, Local 332, of the S. T. & L. A., will meet Wednesday, January 9, 8 p. m., in S. L. P. headquarters at 45 Elliott Street, Boston. All members are requested to attend; important business to be transacted.

**A. QUARNSTROM,**  
(23 Wyatt St.) Rec-Sec.

## Milwaukee, Wis.

There will be a meeting of Section Milwaukee, Saturday evening, January 12, at Kainer's Hall, 300 Fourth Street.

Business of great importance will be transacted; also the election of members of the National Executive Committee.

**F. R. WILKE,**  
Organizer.

## Notice to S. L. P. &amp; S. T. &amp; L. A. Secretaries.

Secretaries of S. L. P. sections and of local and district alliances connected with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, are requested to communicate matters of industrial interest, such as reports of strikes, boycotts, lockouts, etc., DAILY PEOPLE, 2-6 New Read Street, New York City.

## D. A. 49.

The annual meeting of D. A. 49 was held on Sunday afternoon, January 6, in the DAILY PEOPLE Building with the District Master Workman, Charles Rathkopf in the chair.

All officers present.

Comrade Meyer of L. A. 19, Northern Alliance, Liberty, was admitted as a delegate.

Communications.—One from the joint meeting of D. A. 4 and 49 stating that comrade August Gillhouse, of L. A. 274, Machinists, was elected a member of the General Executive Board in place of comrade Carless. District Secretary reports that a meeting of waiters would be held on Monday and Tuesday evening, Jan. 14 and 15 in the club rooms of the 18th assembly district. S. L. P. to organize a local of the Hotel Waiters. Also on Thursday evening, January 10, a mass meeting of Stationary Engineers would be held in William Emich's hall, 5 to 7 Beersum Street, Brooklyn, to organize a local.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

D. M. W. August Gillhaus; D. W. F. Joseph S. Kraker; D. S. and T. William L. Brown; D. A. John Martin; D. S. and A. Louis Rasmussen.

Organization committee reported visiting L. A. 42 and 313 of Yonkers, N. Y., and that the locals would meet the coming week and do some active work the coming year.

The per capita tax from January 1, would be three cents per month each.

Financial report was submitted for the year which was referred to the Auditing Committee. The monthly assessment of one dollar for each local was abolished.

The District recommended that as many locals as could make it convenient should meet in the headquarters of the DAILY PEOPLE Building, 2 to 6 New Read Street. L. A. 141 Cigarmakers reported that they would hold an entertainment and reception on February 2, in the club rooms, 95 Avenue C. Delegates and members were invited to attend.

The installation of district officers will take place on Sunday afternoon, January 20. No further business the meeting adjourned.

**W. L. BROWER, Secretary.**

## Donations to the Daily People.

(Week ending January 5.)

Previously acknowledged, \$2,949.65

San Antonio, Tex.: Bowers, 25c; Federolf, 25c; Pollard, 50c; Leitner, 50c; 1.50

Cleveland, Ohio: Kruse, 75c; Erbes, 51c; Heidenreich, 50c; 1.50

Kranz, 1.50; Zillmer, 50c 4.25

Tacoma, Wash.: Jorgensen, 25c; Sandberg, 25c; Spencer, 25c; Ryan, 25c; Andersen, 25c; 1.25

Schenectady, N. Y.: E. L. Lake, 51c; E. F. Lake, 51c; Clubs 1 and 3, 51c each, 51c; Weinberger, 51c 6.00

New Haven, Conn.: Serrin, 51c; Pfirman, 51c; Maher, 51c; Feldman, 50c 3.50

Seattle, Wash.: Falken, 50c; Walsh, 50c; Olverich, 50c; Lacansky, 25c 1.75

Pittsburg, Pa.: W. J. Marshall, 2.50

Essex Co., N. J.: Bloomfield Branch, \$2.60; Burns, 51c; Newey, 51c 4.60

Richmond Co., N. Y.: Zimmer, 51c; Clark, 50c 1.50

New York, 14th A. D.: Greenberg, 51c 1.00

16th A. D.: Moskowitz, 25c; Tauber, 25c; Platzer, 50c; Feldman, 25c; Gottlieb, 50c; Lederman, 51c; Weiss, 25c; Bitterbaum, 25c; Gorowitz, 25c 3.25

18th A. D., per Owen Diamond, 51c 4.00

26th A. D.: ex-Tammanyite, 51c; Friedman, 25c; Katz, 25c 1.50

32d and 33d A. D.: J. W. 51c 1.00

34th and 35th A. D.: D. Hermanson, 51c; Hodas, 50c; Kinneally, 51c; Crawford, 51c; profit from photo group, per E. Wenzel, 51c 7.50

Brooklyn, 7th A. D.: Fiebigler, 51c; Rasmussen, 51c; Murphy, 51c 14.00

10th A. D.: Keveney, 51c 1.00

19th A. D.: Kober, 50c; Nessler, 25c; Brune, 25c; Poehland, 25c; Poehland, Jr., 20c 1.60

20th A. D.: Forbes, 50c Cash, 50c 1.00

Total, \$3,012.35

**HENRY KUHN,**  
National Secretary.

## Daily People General Fund.

Previously acknowledged, \$15,471.63

Collected at meeting of Section Boston, Mass., Dec. 9, 1900, by W. S. Dalton, 13.10

A Goldberg, 15th A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y., 1.00

9th Congressional District, N. Y., balance, 1.50

S. Korpugut, Staten Island, N. Y., 25

Miss Amalie Krigler, Salvation Army Lassie, 1.31

Total, \$15,485.85

**HENRY KUHN,**  
Financial Secretary-Treasurer, Daily People Committee.

## Daily People Christmas Fund.

Previously acknowledged, \$466.40

Charles Woodley, 50c

John K. Kiefer, Paris, France, 1.00

18th A. D., N. Y. City, 11.00

Section Peoria, Ill., per E. Tornedde, 2.00

Chas. Causalg, Coudersport, Pa., 1.00

Bert Jacobson, Peoria, Ill., 1.00

F. P. Weible, Coudersport, Pa., 1.00

Members of Section Seattle, Wash.: J. E. F. Alken, 1.60

Geo. M. Dohy, 1.00

Maurice Nielsen, 1.00

J. Monette, 1.00

John Lyckstedt, 50c

H. Pohl, 50c

W. Dowd, 50c

Paul Wagner, 50c

C. P. Neilson, 1.00

John C. Kiefer, 1.00

J. H. Walsh, 1.00

Andrew Kelling, 1.00

J. T. Walsh, 1.00

Bert Jacobson, 1.00

H. Olsen, 50c

W. H. Walker, 50c

A. Lazansky, 25c

John Lucas, 50c

Walter Walker, 25c

Collected through the Daily People Club, 21st A. D., Brooklyn: O. Kiefer, 1.00

G. Silberstein, 1.00

Mrs. Seidel, 1.00

Frank Huber, Akron, O., 1.00

Wm. McCormick, New Whatcom, Wash., 1.00

John Royle, Newburgh, N. Y., 1.00

San Francisco, Cal.: L. Bryar, 1.00

S. Friedman, 50c

H. Schulte, 50c

Ignacio Costello, 1.00

John McFarlane, 1.00

Thos. H. Williams, 25c

C. Remke, 1.00

G. Matheson, 25c

L. Kelly, 50c

O. Cerevels, 50c

Hans Jaeger, 50c

F. Houtenbrink, 50c

Chas. Johansen, 50c

F. A. Loring, 50c

Gust. Larsen, 50c

Lara Nesper, 50c

J. H. Kuhn, 50c

N. De Korte, 50c

D. Strauss, 50c

Peter Stroka, 50c

W. J. Ryan, 50c

John Claes, 50c

Francis Hennant, 50c

John McGuinness, 50c

Joseph Hansen, 50c

Joseph Fournett, 50c

Mr. Dohy, 50c

F. Bruland, 50c

F. Miniszewski, 50c

F. Piesen, 50c

G. Scher, So. Norwalk, Conn., 1.00

M. Singewald, So. Norwalk, Conn., 1.00

Henry Piper, Geneva, O., 50c

J. O. Y., 50c

O. N. Moor, Wilmerding, Pa., 1.00

Total, \$587.35

Through a typographical error in the list published Sunday, Dec. 30, Thos. Russell, Minneapolis, Minn., was credited with 60c. instead of 50c. D. Rudnick, Los Angeles, Cal., should have been \$1.50 instead of \$1.00. D. McCulloch, Boston, Mass., instead of D. McCunock.

## MILLS OF THE SOUTH.

BALTIMORE, Jan. 3.—Progress made by the south in cotton manufacturing during the past ten years is likely to be duplicated during the next ten years if certain directions are met. The outlook in this direction is discussed at length in this week's issue of the "Manufacturers' Record" by Dr. Charles W. Dabney, formerly assistant secretary of agriculture, now president of the University of Tennessee, and recognized as an authority in matters affecting the industrial and agricultural advance of the south.

In his paper he contends that undue weight should not be given natural resources, but that the people who must convert them into wealth must also be considered. Among the natural resources he reckons the soil and climate of the South the best in the world for the growing of cotton, its water power from rivers running eastward, southward and westward from the Appalachian Mountains to be used directly or through electric transmission, abundant coal from 47,000 miles of workable fields, of which less than a thousand square miles have been developed up to the present time, and an equable climate in which are the desired conditions for the most refined kinds of cotton manufacturing. He finds that to these natural resources must be added an intelligent and reasonably cheap labor, largely made up of young people, and on that point he says:

"It is well known that the white people of the Piedmont section of the South form an excellent manufacturing population. They come from an intelligent and kindly race, who learn rapidly to be skillful mechanics. With proper training they make as expert artisans as can be found anywhere. There is less opportunity for unions among this domestic population, these mills are owned largely by local people, and modified co-operation promises to keep out the vicious walking delegate and all his kind. The negro has not been much used in the mill so far, but there is little doubt but that he will be employed in particular mills or in those lines of manufacture which requires cheaper labor, with less ability to think. The negro is by nature an imitative creature, and rapidly learns any process that is shown him. He is thus well adapted to all those forms of manufacture that do not require originality or forethought."

"The only thing that we need in the South for an almost indefinite expansion of cotton manufacturing is more capital and more technical experts, both in the business and in the manufacturing departments. The capital will be forthcoming, as it always is, as soon as the men are found to take care of it and use it. The Southern people are getting richer every year, and will undoubtedly invest their spare means in cotton mills as fast as its accumulates. The great need of the South to-day is men to organize and conduct the business of manufacturing, but especially men who know how to build and operate the cotton mills themselves. The movement for technical education, and especially that for textile schools, is going to supply these experts at an early time. Our conclusion, then, is that the only things we need in order to operate many more cotton mills in the South is more education for the masses of the people from whom the laborers will be drawn, and mills. All these things are surely coming, and they all betoken the prodigious development of cotton manufacturing during the next ten years."

"The Southern States now produce more than 66 per cent. of all the cotton consumed in the world, and manufacture about 7 per cent. of it, while the Northern States manufacture about 13 per cent. With China and Africa both opened to our trade, with the canal cut between the Atlantic and the Pacific, I prophesy that in ten years the southern states will have trebled the number of their spindles and will be manufacturing at least 20 per cent. of the cotton of the world, which by that time will be at least 20,000,000 bales. The South manufactured about 1,500,000 bales last year. Allowing for improvement in machinery, that she must prepare to manufacture 5,000,000 bales, half her present crop, by 1910 when she will be probably growing at least 15,000,000. When we consider her past progress and her magnificent resources in connection with the opening up of the East, and the general advancement of civilization, we cannot expect any less."

## Election of Officers.

At a meeting held by Section Reading, on December 30th, 1900, the following officers were elected for the ensuing six months: Organizer, Caleb Harrison, 222 South Eleventh Street; Rec.-Cor. Sec. John Hess, 438 Pine Street; Fin. Sec. Harry Bellman, 531 South Eleventh Street; Literary and agent for the PEOPLE and Treas., Silas Hinkel, 1167 Cotton Street.

**SILAS HINKEL,**  
Organizer Sec. Rdg.

1167 Cotton Street.

## CHILD LABOR.

## A Southerner's Reflections on a Burning Topic.

BURLINGTON, N. C., Jan. 4.—The agitation over the exploitation of child labor in the South has called attention to the fact that the employment of women and children is increasing at an astonishing rate.

It was about 1870 that the evil influence of the child and woman labor first began to attract attention in this country. The textile factories were the first to exploit this class of labor. The introduction of improved machinery enabled the mill owners to cheapen production and reap more profits by substituting women and children for men workers.

Since that time the field for the labor of women and children has been greatly widened and the number employed has increased many fold.

While the women are taken from their homes, and the children from school and play, men are being forced by their competition into the street. Men must now compete with child labor in nearly every line of work. If they cannot live upon such wages there is no other alternative than becoming social parasites, bums, thugs, and thieves.

Amid the sickening scenes of the stockyard of Chicago about 2,000 women are employed. Thousands of women workers are in the tobacco, shoe, paper, rubber, hat, corset, printing, shirt, and numerous other industries.